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11.

REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR

JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

SERIE NOUĂ / NEW SERIES

1–2/2018

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor

Journal of Ethnography and Folklore

Serie nouă / New Series

1–2/2018

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Academia Română, Secţia de Arte, Arhitectură şi Audiovizual
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Lucrare apărută cu sprijin financiar din Fondul Recurent al Donatorilor – Academia Română

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New Series 1-2 2018

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L'UNION DES PRINCIPAUTÉS ROUMAINES EN CONTEXTE EUROPÉEN

VICTOR SPINEI

L'Acte de l'union des Principautés représente indubitablement un moment crucial dans la destinée du peuple roumain et sans cette borne de son devenir historique on ne saurait concevoir la Grande Union. Sa désignation par l'épithète „La petite Union", démonétisée par l'usage excessif, pourrait être interprétée comme porteuse d'une nuance dépréciative, de sorte que l'adoption du syntagme l'„Union de base", proposée quelques années auparavant par le Bienheureux Daniel, le Patriarche de l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine, paraît plus adéquate.

Le déroulement des événements internes et externes, qui ont eu comme corollaire l'union des Principautés – laborieusement investigué par un long cortège d'historiens, d'hommes de lettres et de politiciens, évoqué régulièrement dans des traités doctes et dans des assemblées festives –, est en général bien connu non seulement des spécialistes, mais aussi par le large public intéressé d'histoire. Une consistante approche se trouve dans les grandes synthèses dédiées au passé de la Roumanie dues à A.D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga, C.C. Giurescu et à leurs collaborateurs aux traités coordonnés par l'Académie Roumaine, mais aussi et surtout dans les amples monographies signées par Dan Berindei, Gheorghe Platon, Leonid Boicu et par d'autres savants de prestige. Par conséquent, à propos du thème en question je ne me permettrai de faire que des notations succinctes, rien que pour remémorer quelques données essentielles de son dossier, tout en ajoutant quelques considérations concernant certains aspects complémentaires. J'aimerais prévenir l'hypothétique lecteur de ce texte de ne pas s'attendre à des choses spectaculaires, puisque, comme William Somerset Maugham le notait, „les grandes vérités sont trop importantes pour être nouvelles".

Comme tout événement crucial, l´Union représente un *summum* d'accumulations politiques antérieures, qui l'ont préparée et ont configuré ses traits définitoires. Pour ce qui est de sa proximité externe, l'Union a représenté en partie le fruit de la guerre de Crimée, qui a été déclenchée par la France, l'Angleterre, la Turquie et le Piémont, comme réplique à l'invasion des Principautés en 1853 par la Russie, tenace dans son désir de se les annexer et de continuer son offensive dans les

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Balkans vers Constantinople, profitant de la désuétude endémique de l'Empire Ottoman. Il serait peut-être utile de rappeler un fait parfois ignoré, ayant trait à l'offre de 30 millions de francs faite par le comte Orloff à la Turquie au nom du tzar, après la conclusion du traité d'Andrinople en 1829, pour qu'on lui cède les Principautés, ce qui prouve la persévérance en vue de fructifier à tout prix des projets d'expansion. Les pouvoirs occidentaux ne pouvaient consentir en 1853 à une dépréciation de leurs propres intérêts et à une fracture de l'équilibre des forces en Europe du Sud-Est. La réplique préparée par les alliés fut en quelque sorte inattendue, car ils ne déployèrent pas leurs forces sur les théâtres d'opérations du Bas Danube, mais en Crimée, annexée par la Russie en 1787, zone de la plus grande importance stratégique autant par le passé, qu'à présent aussi. Selon les convictions des politiciens formulées le long du temps, celui qui détient le pouvoir sur la Crimée contrôle en fait tout le Bassin Pontique. En dépit de l'ardeur des soldats russes engagés dans la bataille, dépeinte magistralement par le jeune d'alors Lev Tolstoi, la Russie a été vaincue, devant subir des conditions de paix défavorables. Pour obturer son accès à l'axe fluvial danubien, le sud de la Bessarabie a été restitué à la Moldavie et on a décidé de constituer les soi-disant divans ad-hoc, voués à consulter les habitants quant à leurs options politiques et administratives.

Cette opportunité fut employée, comme on le sait, par les éléments les plus clairvoyants de la société des deux Principautés pour réaliser l'Union par le truchement du double avènement d'Alexandru Ioan Cuza en Moldavie et en Valachie, non sans certaines difficultés et réticences venues de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur, car plus d'une fois, le long de l'histoire, son cours normal fut brisé par des groupes mus soit par des mesquins profits personnels, soit par l'incapacité de percevoir les intérêts majeurs des nations. D'étrange manière, aujourd'hui encore percent des voix isolées, surtout en Moldavie, qui déplorent le fait que la ville de Iasi a perdu autant son statut de capitale du pays que d'autres prérogatives aussi, ce qui reflète sans doute une vision désuète. Il est difficile de savoir si de telles nostalgies se manifestent à Frankfort ou à Munich, sous prétexte que Berlin soit devenu la capitale de l'Allemagne, ou à Turin, pour avoir perdu sa qualité de résidence royale, bien que l'unité territoriale de l'Italie se soit coagulée autour du Piémont. Ce n'est pas moins vrai que l'attitude de certains Moldaves est alimentée par les préoccupations réduites de leurs dirigeants politiques pour les problèmes économiques et sociaux de l'est du pays, où les dernières décennies les investissements dans des projets majeurs ont été constamment tout au moins précaires.

On a souvent exprimé l'étonnement vis-à-vis du manque, jusque tardivement, vers le XIX-e siècle, de tendances tranchantes d'unir les deux Principautés – à l'exception du moment Michel le Brave. C'est que les deux États, comme on le sait, se sont formés au cours du XIV-e siècle, après une longue gestation, retardée par le déferlement des vagues successives de migrateurs des steppes de l'Eurasie et par les actions perturbatrices des forces politiques externes. Leurs épicentres de formation – dans la zone sous-carpatique de la Valachie et au nord-ouest de la

Moldavie – se trouvaient à assez grande distance les uns des autres. Leur unification aurait pu se réaliser, en certaines circonstances, par voie militaire. Ainsi, puisque Mircea l'Ancien avait réussi à détrôner en 1400 le voïvode Iouga et à porter Alexandre le Bon au trône, il va sans dire que le seigneur de Valachie aurait été en mesure de s'emparer du pouvoir en Moldavie sans aucun secours, tout comme Étienne le Grand, qui avait soutenu à plusieurs reprises ses propres protégés à Târgoviște, aurait pu, lui aussi, s'installer sur le trône de la Valachie. Mais ni Mircea l'Ancien, ni Étienne le Grand n'ont osé s'assumer des prérogatives voïvodales dans le pays voisin, par respect imprescriptible pour les coutumes féodales, qui supposaient l'acceptation de la tradition dynastique instituée lors de la fondation des deux États sous le sceptre des successeurs des Basarab et des Bogdan.

La pluralité de l'État n'a pas affecté en profondeur les liens économiques et culturels inter-roumains, et leur unité linguistique et confessionnelle s'avéra d'une viabilité multi-séculaire grâce aux transferts des collectivités humaines. Ceux-ci n'ont pas eu une orientation unilatérale, dans le sens que, certaines fois les flux migrateurs se sont déroulés de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur de l'arc carpatique, tandis que d'autres fois ils eurent une orientation contraire, dépendant de causes économiques, confessionnelles ou politiques. En diverses situations, des communautés plus ou moins nombreuses se sont dirigées vers des contrées avoisinantes pour pratiquer le pâturage de transhumance ou à la recherche de terrains agricoles, et dans d'autres cas elles ont émigré suite aux persécutions subies pour des raisons sociales ou religieuses. La toponymie et l'anthroponymie locale fournissent des témoignages péremptoires pour de tels phénomènes de la dynamique démographique.

De plus, entre les régions roumaines il y eut constamment des contacts de nature culturelle et religieuse. Fait significatif, il convient de le rappeler, est que pour la traduction de la *Bible* de 1688 – la soi-disant *Bible de Şerban Cantacuzino* –, œuvre fondamentale pour la culture roumaine, ont collaboré des lettrés moldaves et valaques, à savoir Nicolae Milescu Spătarul et, respectivement, Şerban et Radu Greceanu, avec le soutien d'autres savants aussi. La fusion entre les particularismes linguistiques du parler moldave et celui de Valachie allait contribuer à définir les normes littéraires de la langue roumaine moderne.

Comme on le sait, le morcellement de certains États s'explique en bonne partie justement par le manque de l'unité de religion. C'est le cas relativement récent de l'écartèlement de la Yougoslavie, dont les composantes régionales avaient été intégrées durant le Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne à des ensembles politiques différents. Ce fut une compartimentation à ascendance millénaire, qui a généré des traditions spécifiques, mais peut-être en plus grande mesure encore l'appartenance de la Serbie à l'orthodoxie, de la Croatie et de la Slovénie au catholicisme et de la Bosnie à l'islamisme, s'est soldée avec des tensions inter-ethniques virulentes et, finalement, suite au concours intrusif des pouvoirs externes, avec le démembrement de cet État paru sur la carte du continent après la Première Guerre Mondiale, plus par la ténacité des potentats du jour que par la volonté des ethnies du nord-ouest de la Péninsule Balkanique.

La réalisation de l'Union des Principautés assurait une stabilité politique plus grande, dans le sens qu'une éventuelle tentative d'incorporation globale aurait impliqué des perturbations de l'équilibre stratégique et aurait mis en alerte les pouvoirs européens et surtout les empires de leur proximité. On sait que l'annexion de territoires plus ou moins étendus appartenant aux deux États roumains, tels – temporairement – l'Olténie en 1718 et – durablement – la Bucovine en 1775 à l'Autriche et – toujours durablement – celui de la Bessarabie en 1812 à la Russie, n'ont pas suscité de réactions hostiles véhémentes à l'échelle continentale, comme il advint au moment où l'on avait entrepris des mesures tranchantes en vue d'occuper les deux Principautés, sur lesquelles planaient les nuages de permanentes menaces. Dans la vision réaliste des milieux diplomatiques occidentaux, par la réunification des Principautés on aurait pu édifier des barrières plus efficientes devant les plans expansionnistes des empires comme la Russie et l'Autriche.

La réussite de l'„Union de base" a pavé la voie vers l'obtention de l'Indépendance et l'achèvement de la Grande Union. Seule l'Union de 1859 a fait possible la création de l'État national unitaire, événement cardinal du devenir historique des Roumains. Hormis les conditions externes favorables, pour accomplir l'acte de l'Union les Roumains ont eu besoin d'une élite politique tenace et responsable, animée de sentiments patriotiques et douée d'habiletés diplomatiques. Les petits pays ne sont pas à même de s'assumer l'initiation de démarches politiques à réverbérations continentales, comme ceux qui visent de nouvelles lignes pour leurs frontières nationales. C'est pourquoi ils doivent profiter de circonstances favorables afin de matérialiser leurs aspirations. Ce n'est que de cette façon que l'on put fructifier l'Union de 1859, l'Indépendance et la Grande Union. *Mutatis mutandis*, si, trois décennies auparavant, on aurait disposé d'une classe dirigeante ferme et habile, attachée indissolublement aux idéaux nationaux, aux deux côtés du Prut, on aurait sans doute pu profiter du démembrement de l'Union Soviétique. Les attitudes léthargiques n'ont jamais représenté des solutions adéquates, bien au contraire, il s'avère qu'on a besoin d'implications audacieuses, avec les risques de rigueur, puisque les réalisations majeures réclament efforts, détermination et héroïsme. Qui n'est pas capable de sacrifices se complaît dans un état larvaire, à la périphérie des courants robustes de l'histoire.

À l'heure des grandes épreuves au milieu XIX-e siècle on eut la chance de voir paraître de braves gens, recrutés de toutes les régions habitées par les Roumains, tout comme allait se passer durant les moments dramatiques de plus tard, lors du déclenchement de la Première grande conflagration mondiale. Ceux-ci s'étaient déjà entraînés par leur participation à la révolution de 1848, mais les racines des actions énergiques descendent jusqu'aux décennies antérieures, lors de l'émeute de Horea en Transylvanie et de la révolution de Tudor Vladimirescu en Valachie. Leur sacrifice ne fut pas stérile, et son écho s'est propagé pour revigorer aussi les générations qui leur suivirent. Parfois même les défaites, si elles sont héroïques, méritent autant d'honneur que les victoires.

À l'exception des collectivités vivant dans quelques territoires isolés, situés sur des îles dissipées parmi les vagues des océans ou dans les fourrés inextricables de la végétation tropicale, les peuples de la mappemonde n'ont pas eu un développement d'économie fermée, détaché de l'espace existentiel d'autour, celui-ci étant à même de drainer leur cours évolutif. Tout naturellement, les régions géto-daces, daco-romaines et roumaines aussi, ont souffert l'influence des États du voisinage, de même que, à leur tour, elles ont influencé ceux-ci. De la sorte, non seulement par raisons strictement épistémologiques, mais aussi pour des motifs pragmatiques, le monde savant se doit d'investiguer, de comprendre et d'expliquer le déroulement des réalités consumées sur d'autres méridiens. Quand on accède à une perspective plus ample – zonale ou planétaire –, on sera en mesure de configurer des verdicts plus exacts et en connexion avec la tournure du parcours historique de l'espace roumain. Loin de nous la naïveté de considérer qu'il y eut des identités globales entre les faits passés dans l'espace carpato-danubien et ceux qui se sont déroulés à d'autres endroits du monde. Les recherches doctes et responsables peuvent prouver seulement la présence de synchronismes partiels, mais non pas celle des identités.

Considérant qu'une compréhension de la manière dont on a réalisé l'unification d'États dans d'autres espaces serait opportune, on propose un très lapidaire et sélectif survol rétrospectif de ces processus, sans nous assumer la velléité d'offrir des sentences universellement viables.

La plupart des entités d'États se sont formées par des extensions et des annexions successives au compte des territoires avoisinants. C'est ainsi que se sont coagulés tous les grands empires du monde connus des plus vieux temps. L'État d'Alexandre le Grand eut comme point de départ la Macédoine paternelle pour s'étendre jusqu'aux Indes et l'Asie Centrale. L'Empire romain eut son origine dans la petite région du Latium pour conquérir tout le Bassin méditerranéen, la Bretagne, la Dacie et le Proche Orient. L'Empire mongol, dont le noyau se trouvait dans la vallée de la rivière du Kerulen, imposa son hégémonie depuis le Pacifique jusqu'au Bas Danube, la Perse et l'Anatolie, devenant la plus grande et la plus robuste formation d'État au Moyen Âge. Le royaume espagnol envoya ses galères de conquistadors au-delà des étendues de l'Atlantique, annexant presque toute l'Amérique Centrale et du Sud, de telle manière que le roi d'Espagne, Charles le Quint, souverain du Saint-Empire romain germanique aussi, était en droit d'affirmer plein d'emphase que dans son empire le soleil ne décline jamais! La plus grande extension territoriale à l'époque moderne fut celle de l'Empire russe et de celui soviétique, avec la contrée moscovite à son cœur, déferlant implacablement jusqu'aux bords du Pacifique, et si le tzar Alexandre II ne se serait pas précipité en 1857 de vendre Alaska aux Américains au prix – ridicule aujourd'hui – de 7,2 millions de dollars, il aurait détenu probablement à présent encore l'extrémité du nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Nord. La création des empires de Charlemagne, des Habsbourg, des Turcs seldjoukides et ottomans, de l'Angleterre etc. présente les mêmes traits généraux, impliquant l'organisation de campagnes militaires

d'envergure, soldées par la coagulation d'États pluri-ethniques et multi-confessionnels, avec une diversité kaléidoscopique et une harmonie des contrastes. Dans les cas sus-mentionnés la constitution des États respectifs ne s'est pas concrétisée par la réunion bénévole d'entités territoriales, mais par des annexions graduelles – réalisées prioritairement par coercition –, et que l'on pourrait désigner à la rigueur par le terme d'„unification", et non pas, en tout cas, par celui d'„union".

D'autres États et de régions se sont libérés lors du processus de déchirement des empires et des royaumes multinationaux: la Grèce, la Bulgarie, l'Albanie, la Serbie et plusieurs pays du Proche et du Moyen Orient – se détachant de l'Empire Ottoman, la Tchécoslovaquie, une partie de la Yougoslavie et de la Pologne, la Transylvanie et la Bucovine – de l'Empire Austro-hongrois, la Finlande, les Pays Baltiques, la majeure partie de la Pologne, la Bessarabie et, rien que de façon temporaire, l'Ukraine – de l'Empire russe des tzars, les trois Pays Baltiques, la Biélorussie, la République Moldova, les pays caucasiens et ceux central-asiatiques – de l'Union Soviétique etc. A leur tour, certains pays fondés après la Première Guerre Mondiale, comme la Yougoslavie et la Tchécoslovaquie, se sont scindés après la seconde grande conflagration mondiale, donnant ainsi naissance à un conglomérat d'États nouveaux.

L'Italie moderne a eu comme épicentre unificateur le Royaume de Piémont-Sardaigne, même s'il n'était pas auréolé d'un blason médiéval tout aussi prestigieux que celui représenté par Rome, Florence, Venise, Milan ou Naples. Tout en empruntant le programme et la détermination du mouvement connu comme *Risorgimento* et ayant partout des partisans actifs, le Piémont-Sardaigne a usé pour accomplir l'idéal de l'unification autant de la force – à voir les actions qui ont eu au premier plan Garibaldi – que de diplomatie – le cas du ministre des Affaires étrangères Cavour. Participant à la Guerre de Crimée aux côtés de la France et de l'Angleterre, pour gagner leur faveur, le Piémont s'est allié ultérieurement avec la Prusse contre l'Autriche et a obtenu la région de Vénétie à la suite de la victoire de Sadova, afin que, profitant de la défaite essuyée par Napoléon III avec les Prussiens, il puisse annexer l'État Papal, protégé antérieurement des troupes françaises.

Approximativement à la même époque où se préfigurait l'union des Principautés Roumaines et celle de l'Italie, se sont déroulés aussi les événements qui ont mené à l'unification des territoires allemands autour de la Prusse, idée propagée par les promoteurs du courant *Sturm und Drang* et finalisée par consensus mutuel dû au prestige particulier gagné par l'État prussien lorsque les freins du pouvoir étaient tenus dans les bras fermes du chancelier Otto von Bismarck. *Mutatis mutandis*, toujours sans moyens coercitifs on réalisa, 120 ans après – dans un contexte international complètement différent et avec d'autres acteurs principaux sur la scène politique – la réunification de l'Allemagne, orchestrée cette fois-ci par le chancelier Helmut Kohl.

Tous les peuples du monde ne furent pas à même de créer leur propre noyau d'État. Quelques-uns en furent décimés ou assimilés par des populations plus

vigoureuses, d'autres demeurent depuis des siècles entre les frontières d'autres États: les Kurds, estimés à plus 30 de millions, sont dissipés sur les territoires de l'Iran, de l'Irak, de la Syrie et de la Turquie, les Ossètes de l'espace nord-caucasien sont établis autant en Confédération Russe, qu'au nord de la Géorgie, les Basques, l'une des rares populations à ascendance pré-indo-européenne d'Europe, se retrouvent de manière compacte au nord de l'Espagne et au sud-ouest de la France, et les exemples pourraient se multiplier sur presque tous les continents. Leurs aspirations légitimes vers l'indépendance et pour avoir leur propre État se heurte à l'opposition irréductible de la part de ceux avec qui ils cohabitent et ne jouissent que d'un pâle et complaisant support international, tandis que leur avenir se perd dans les brumes des incertitudes. Une situation spéciale peut être constatée dans le cas des petites communautés néo-latines opprimées dans les Balkans: le nombre des Istroroumains et des Méglénoroumains a diminué jusqu'à un niveau tout à fait insignifiant, tandis que les Aroumains sont soumis à un processus accentué et subreptice de dénationalisation, répercussion de l'indifférence prolongée et difficile à qualifier des autorités de Bucarest.

Si l'on était amené à identifier les parallèles les plus rapprochées de l'Union des Principautés avec des événements de même nature déroulés en d'autres pays d'Europe, nous fixerions pour cible de nos recherches les deux extrémités du continent, sur l'échelon crépusculaire du Moyen Âge.

Nous nous arrêterions d'abord à un endroit proche des territoires roumains, où, en 1386, le Royaume polonais s'est uni avec le Grand Knésat de la Lituanie, à la suite du mariage, à Cracovie, du grand knès Wladislaw II Jagello avec l'héritière du trône polonais, Hedwige d'Anjou. Ce fusionnement d'États de facture personnelle, à teinte matrimoniale, a impliqué aussi l'obligation de la conversion officielle généralisée des Lituaniens à la religion chrétienne de rite catholique.

Un autre mariage par lequel on a scellé l'union de deux pays eut lieu en 1463 dans la Péninsule Ibérique, où la cérémonie matrimoniale s'est consommé entre Fernand II d'Aragon et Isabelle I-ère de Castille. L'union du Royaume de Castille avec le Royaume d'Aragon s'est auréolé par la finalisation de la *Reconquiste* – c'est-à-dire l'incorporation dans les domaines chrétiens des dernières possessions du sultanat de Grenade, au sud de l'Espagne – en 1492, an crucial pour l'histoire du monde, où l'illustre navigateur Christophe Colomb fut envoyé à la découverte des Indes.

Si l'unification de l'Italie, tout comme celle de l'Allemagne, s'est réalisée autour d'un pôle de pouvoir prédominant, représenté, on ne fait que le répéter, par le Piémont et, respectivement, par la Prusse, l'union de la Valachie avec une moitié de la Moldavie, de même que celle de la Pologne avec la Lituanie ou bien de la Castille avec l'Aragon, se sont produites par le libre consentement entre deux entités d'État ayant des prérogatives égales. Les parallélismes ne vont pas vers l'identité, puisque, comme il n'y a pas de similitudes absolues entre deux êtres humains, d'autant moins l'on ne peut mettre en relief des identités au niveau des grands conglomérats démographiques. Alors que, avant de prendre la décision de

fusionner, la Pologne, la Lituanie, la Castille et l'Aragon étaient des États souverains, à robuste ossature d'organisation et avec un substantiel potentiel militaire, les deux Principautés Roumaines se trouvaient sous la suzeraineté ottomane, dont elles n'allaient se débarrasser que 18 ans après l'Union de 1859.

Il serait peut-être à noter que le sceau du destin a fait que, plus d'un siècle après la disparition du Royaume polono-lituanien de la carte de l'Europe, les deux éléments de cet ensemble d'État ressuscitent à la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale, dans des circonstances politiques radicalement changées, comme deux unités d'État distinctes. En revanche, la Castille et l'Aragon – l'Espagne et Catalogne d'aujourd'hui –, après une cohabitation relativement harmonieuse depuis plus d'un demi-millénaire, se trouvent à présent au-devant d'une dure épreuve, et les perspectives sont momentanément difficiles à anticiper, comme il est risqué de pronostiquer les contours des frontières d'autres pays aussi.

L'estime pour les démarches des collectivités humaines qui unissent leurs forces afin de traverser les moments critiques ou pour matérialiser leurs aspirations communes est reflétée dans le trésor de proverbes et de pensées de plusieurs peuples. Pour venir à l'appui de notre assertion il serait peut-être d'intérêt de ne citer que quelques-uns parmi ceux-ci, empruntés à des espaces divers. Ainsi, dans le fameux recueil sanscrit de narrations et de fables – *Panchatantra* – on lit la réflexion: „L'union de plusieurs, même s'ils sont faibles, est difficile à briser; c'est d'herbes que l'on tresse la corde qui attache l'éléphant". Toujours du monde oriental, à savoir du grand lettré persan Firdousi nous parvient l'exhortation optimiste: „Quand vous serez unis dans la même pensée on pourra renverser jusqu'aux montagnes". Son compatriote, non moins célèbre, Hafez, concluait de façon lapidaire: „s'il y a union on peut conquérir le monde". Tout aussi tranchants sont le proverbe italien: *L'unione fa la forza* et celui des Français: *L'union fait la force*, qui connaît la variante roumaine: *Unirea face puterea* (L'union fait le pouvoir), nous ramenant en mémoire une strophe de *Hora Unirii* écrite par Vasile Alecsandri, publiée en 1856 dans la revue *Steaua Dunării* (L'étoile du Danube) et mise en musique par Alexandru Flechtenmacher, et qui allait devenir le populaire hymne de l'union. Des chroniques romaines on glane le verdict de Sallustius, le biographe des premiers empereurs romains: *Concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur* („Par l'union les petites choses s'agrandissent, par dissension on ne fait que démolir les grandes choses"). Le même sens est exprimé dans le vers d'une fable de La Fontaine: *Toute puissance est faible, à moins que d'être unie*, mais aussi dans un proverbe des communautés africaines: „Les troupeaux resserrés obligent le lion à se coucher affamé". On va clore la file d'exemples – que l'on pourrait bien sûr augmenter à une très vaste échelle – par remémorer la plus connue, probablement, sentence ayant trait au thème abordé, insérée dans le drame de Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*: *Verbunden werden auch die Schwachen mächtig* („Même les plus faibles, s'ils sont unis, deviennent forts").

À l'anniversaire de l'Union des Principautés Roumaines, on pense aux effets qui traversent les temps, de cette réalisation cardinale pour leur devenir historique.

On risque d'être suspectés d'un optimisme naïf si nous arguions qu'on apprend beaucoup de l'expérience du passé, mais nous considérons cependant que l'historien qui aspire à l'exigence ne doit pas abjurer à sa tâche et à son obligation de présenter et d'expliquer les faits et événements de façon correcte et parfaitement objective, de sensibiliser les facteurs de décision à se préoccuper du choix adéquat des moyens pour faire avancer la société.

La lucidité prétendue à un représentant de la branche des historiens empêche le cantonnement dans une rhétorique euphorisante à l'heure du bilan succinct et sans doute lacunaire des réalisations majeures de la nation roumaine, puisque le souvenir de certaines réalités présentes plane d'une manière obsessive, ce qui assombrit partiellement l'anniversaire. Ainsi, on ne peut réprimer l'amertume qu'aujourd'hui on est vu comme une société manquant de repères, sans réussir de coaguler un consensus quant aux problèmes vitaux, que la démobilisation des élites s'accentue, disparaît le respect pour le professionnalisme, pour les compétences intellectuelles, que la rhétorique du manque de confiance et le négativisme généralisé acquiert une audience accrue, qu'on abandonne les propres intérêts à la faveur de ceux étrangers, lorsque, dans les conditions de l'expansion des tendances de globalisation, s'agrandit le péril de la perte de l'identité nationale sur la toile de fond d'une prolifération des antagonismes à teinte de *bellum omnium contra omnes*. Il serait encore à consigner que les valeurs culturelles de l'ouest de l'Europe, assimilées à très grand profit par la société roumaine surtout les deux derniers siècles, ne suscitent plus la même vénération et émulation que par le passé, produisant réticence et désorientation, de sorte que l'Occident tend à diminuer son statut de phare lumineux de la civilisation mondiale. Les suspicions et le scepticisme découlent en partie du reniement pernicieux des préceptes chrétiens, manifesté concomitamment avec l'acceptation irresponsable d'implantations de collectivité allogènes totalement réfractaires et hostiles face aux traditions locales. Hormis ces instabilités, le mirage des conditions de vie meilleure, le découragement devant le manque d'efficience des programmes de gouvernement performants, afin de stopper les phénomènes de corruption cause un exode galopant et implacable de millions de personnes vers des méridiens plus prospères, d'une ampleur sans précédent dans l'histoire du pays, tandis que le déséquilibre démographique se profile être l'un des plus grands périls pour l'existence même du peuple roumain.

Il va sans dire que les états des choses du passé n'étaient pas comparables à ceux d'aujourd'hui, même si certains dysfonctionnements se sont perpétués de manière néfaste. Malgré cela, nous avons l'obligation de ne pas oublier que la génération qui a forgé l'Union des Principautés, même si elle avait été confrontée avec des difficultés des plus accablantes sur le plan interne et externe aussi, a fait preuve de responsabilité et de vitalité lorsqu'elle s'est vue en situation de veiller pour que la modernisation du pays progresse, réagissant avec fermeté devant les phénomènes de fraude et de corruption, extériorisés en certaines circonstances, en gérant soigneusement les ressources matérielles limitées eues à sa disposition pour

les diriger vers les besoins impérieux de la société, renonçant à ses propres intérêts à la faveur des intérêts de la communauté, se dédiant avec abnégation à l'accomplissement des aspirations cruciales de la nation. Les connexions étroites avec les milieux politiques influents d'outre frontières se sont avérées bénéfiques, car par cette stratégie on a obtenu un appui consistant pour matérialiser les lignes programmatiques préconisées, tandis que la dévotion des élites pour accomplir les idéaux nationaux a insufflé aux compatriotes leur confiance pour un avenir meilleur. Nous partageons partiellement la réticence avec une teinte de paradoxe du Suisse Max Frisch, lorsqu'il concluait que „rien n'est plus difficile que de louer", mais pour le cas spécial des artisans de l'Union des Principautés une autre alternative paraît sans fondement.*

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LES ÉTAPES DE LA CRÉATION DE L'ÉTAT NATIONAL UNITAIRE ROUMAIN

RADU TOADER

RÉSUMÉ

La cristallisation de la conscience de soi, de la nation puis de la conscience nationale conduit progressivement à la formulation des grands objectifs politiques des roumains: l'émancipation nationale et sociale, l'unification de tous les territoires habités par les roumains (mais d'abord sous domination étrangère), l'indépendance de l'Etat, l'unité et la cohésion politique, administrative et institutionnelle; la modernisation de la société roumaine. Les grands moments de notre histoire (l'Union de 1859, la Constitution de 1866, la conquête de l'indépendance de l'Etat entre 1877-1878), les guerres de réunification de la patrie (1913, 1916-1918, 1919), le retour de Transylvanie, Banat, Crisana, Maramures, Bucovine et Bessarabie (1918) à la mère patrie présente les roumains toujours prêts à agir pour atteindre ces objectifs majeurs. En dépit des toutes les vicissitudes de l'histoire (occupations et domination étrangère, guerres), les Roumains découvrent, à la fin de 1918, *leur heure astrale*: la réalisation de l'État National Unitaire Roumain sous le sceptre du Roi Ferdinand le Fidèle.

Mots-clés: Cristallisation de la conscience nationale, commandements nationaux, territoires historiques habités par les roumains, réunification, modernisation de la société roumaine.

LA CRYSTALISATION DE LA CONSCIENCE ETHNIQUE ET PUIS NATIONALE LES COMMANDEMENTS NATIONAUX

Dans le contexte de la formation de la conscience ethnique et puis nationale, sous des formes de plus en plus élaborées et en relation avec les dynamiques géopolitiques européennes, on arrive à formuler les grands objectifs politiques des roumains: l'émancipation nationale et sociale, l'unification de tous les territoires habités par des roumains (mais sous domination étrangère), l'indépendance de l'Etat, l'unité et la cohésion politique-administrative et institutionnelle; la prospérité grâce à la modernisation.

«LA DACIE»

L'idée de *Dacie* et de «l'union des trois pays roumains en Dacie», «Etat dacique-roumain» apparait à l'époque d'Étienne le Grand. Elle revient comme une

constante, sous diverses formes[1], depuis le XVIe siècle sous Petru Rares (1538) et, un peu plus tard, sous Ioan Zapolya (à partir de 1541). Il ne s'agit pas de la Dacie historique, mais de celle que nous appellerions la Dacie «symbolique», l'idée d'un territoire quasi-unitaire restée enracinée dans l'esprit collectif. Les noms archaïques utilisés dans les écrits médiévaux ne correspondaient plus totalement aux réalités du Moyen Age, car ils étaient vagues ou inactuels, tout étant significatifs par la suggestion d'une certaine continuité entre les époques anciennes et les périodes suivantes[2]. Également justifiés, les savants roumains, en particulier ceux de Transylvanie, utilisent constamment les termes de *Dacie* et de *Valaque* dans leurs arguments en faveur des actions d'émancipation nationale. Ces concepts n'étaient pas du tout des éléments négligeables dans la quête de l'identité nationale roumaine[3].

En 1600, Michel le Brave réussit à mettre en pratique l'idée de l'union politique et militaire des trois pays roumains[4], pour une courte durée. Après lui, il y eut les tentatives d'union de Matthieu Basarab et des princes de Transylvanie – Gabriel Bethlen et Gheorghe Rakóczi II dans la première moitié du 17ème siècle.

PENDANT LE MOYEN AGE

Le destin des terres roumaines – Transylvanie, Moldavie, Valachie – a dépendu, depuis le début du Moyen Age, de leurs relations avec les grandes puissances européennes et de l'évolution des tendances générales de la politique européenne[5].

Les guerres anti-ottomanes (des XIVe au XVIe siècle) ont généré un sentiment d'unité quasi-naturel dans les trois pays, le prochain siècle étant marqué par des tentatives de préserver le sentiment d'appartenance ethnique et d'État face à l'empire du Nord[6].

La période Phanariote (1711/1716-1821) s'avère paradoxale. D'une part, nous constatons une augmentation de la domination ottomane et une fréquence des occupations étrangères, qui ne laissent pas trop de liberté aux possibles actions d'unification ou d'émancipation politique, souhaitées par les roumains. D'autre part, la période mentionnée, au-delà des aspects négatifs mentionnés, fut naturellement une période de transition vers la modernité[7]. Il faut rajouter, à l'appui de ces affirmations, que le terrain de la modernisation et de l'unification a été préparé par les règnes alternatifs des princes phanariotes dans l'un ou l'autre des pays.

Un autre «effet secondaire» des gouvernements phanariotes et de la formation des élites aristocratiques – les boyards grécisés fut la formation, en Moldavie et Valachie, des ainsi nommés partis nationaux. Il s'agissait des groupes actifs de

[1] *L'histoire de la Roumanie en données* 2003: 67.
[2] Toader 2007: 149.
[3] Armbruster 1993: 136.
[4] Armbruster 1993: 141-142.
[5] Toader 2006: 2.
[6] Hitchins 2013: 10.
[7] Hitchins 2013: 25, 31, 34, 35.

boyards roumains qui avaient pour but de se dissocier des grecs[8], dans la vie politique interne. Par contre, à l'extérieur, ils présentaient aux grandes puissances (à l'occasion des nombreuses conférences et traités de paix) des mémorandums par lesquels ils manifestaient leurs doléances, les véritables objectifs nationaux: que les pays soient libres des Turcs comme ils ont toujours été, qu'ils s'unissent sous le même prince. Il y a eu des protestations à l'occasion de l'enlèvement de la Bucovine par l'Autriche (1775), on demande que la neutralité et l'indépendance soient garanties par la Russie et l'Autriche, l'abolition des Rayahs Ottomanes. Appart ces revendications, pendant toute la période 1716-1821 il y eut 40 pétitions dans lesquelles on réclamait le retour aux princes dirigeants autochtones.

«LA QUESTION D'ORIENT» LA SÉRIE DES GUERRES RUSSO-AUSTRO-TURQUES

La fin de la guerre ottomano-autrichienne (1683-1699), terminée avec la paix de Karlowitz (1699), marque le début d'une nouvelle étape de l'histoire politico-militaire européenne: l'apparition de ce qu'on appelle la «Question d'Orient», en fait les efforts de l'Autriche et de la Russie d'assurer l'influence et, si possible, la domination dans l'Europe de l'est et du sud-est, dans leur recherche d'accaparer les possessions de l'Empire Ottoman en déclin[9]. La «Question d'Orient» a généré une longue série de guerres, dans lesquelles l'Autriche et la Russie, séparément ou en tant qu'alliés, ont combattu l'Empire Ottoman. Il y a eu dix guerres russes et/ou austro-ottomanes, et chacune d'elles a eu des conséquences directes pour les territoires roumains (en tant que théâtres de guerre, objets de dispute dans les pourparlers de paix) et pour leur statut. La première guerre a eu lieu entre 1683-1699 et la dernière entre 1877-1878[10].

TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU

La Révolution de Tudor Vladimirescu de l'année 1821 représente la transition vers une nouvelle étape dans l'élaboration des objectifs et la formulation des programmes nationaux. Dans le même temps, on revient aux dirigeants autochtones[11] et le destin des Pays Roumains devient sujet de débats pour les Grandes Puissances, ce qui, dans ses aspects positifs, cache le germe des futures réalisations nationales.

LES RÈGLEMENTS ORGANIQUES

Les premières lois fondamentales pour les Principautés Roumains, appelées Règlements Organiques, ont été établies par le Traité d'Andrinople (entrées en

[8] Hitchins 2013: 12.
[9] Ciachir 1996: 23.
[10] Toader 2006: 3.
[11] Hitchins 2013: 193-195.

vigueur en 1831/32 et fonctionnant jusqu'en 1858)[12]. Les Règlements Organiques étaient, en substance, des Constitutions et représentaient un repère important à la fois pour la préparation de l'unification des deux Principautés roumaines, ainsi que pour leur modernisation institutionnelle.

LES QUARANTE-HUITARDS 1848-1849

L'exemple et les idées de la Grande Révolution française ont inspiré la pensée et les actions des peuples qui étaient sous domination étrangère dans l'Europe centrale, orientale et du sud-est, y compris les roumains[13]. La période entre les deux révolutions (1821-1848) est la phase du «carbonarisme roumain», c'est à dire des sociétés et des mouvements secrets. Cela impliquait des liens intenses entre les élites des trois pays roumains, qui vont se développer et devenir plus stables et plus importants durant les Révolutions de 1848[14].

À la révolution de 1848 ont participé et coopéré les roumains de tous les pays, y compris ceux de Transylvanie, du Banat et de la Bucovine. Par conséquent, le programme national devient plus clair et il est partagé par les roumains de Valachie, de Moldavie, de Transylvanie, du Banat et de Bucovine. L'esprit national est renforcé et les objectifs des roumains vont rester vivants.

Dès janvier 1847, Nicolae Balcescu fait connaître la synthèse de ce programme: «Notre objectif, Messieurs, je considère que cela ne peut être autre que l'unité nationale des Roumains: d'abord l'unité d'idées et des sentiments, et avec le temps, l'unité politique [...] Vers une réforme sociale ... c'est là où nous devons cibler toute notre diligence». Ainsi on peut constater que dans les territoires habités par les roumains, sous tous les dirigeants temporels, il y eut quatre révolutions: trois des roumains et une des hongrois.

Les révolutionnaires quarante huitards valaques et moldaves ont coopéré jusqu'à un certain point entre eux et aussi avec les groupes révolutionnaires de l'Empire. L'élite et les masses roumaines ont été coordonnées et mobilisées de manière exemplaire, mais les révolutions moldave et valaque de 1848 ont été écrasées par les interventions des armées russes et ottomanes[15].

Dans les territoires de la monarchie autrichienne des Habsbourgs, dès le début des deux mouvements, il devint clair que les révolutionnaires roumains et hongrois avaient des objectifs divergents et même contraires[16]: tandis que les roumains voulaient l'émancipation nationale et confessionnelle, des libertés, la représentativité, le droit d'utiliser et de préserver la langue roumaine, les Hongrois voulaient l'établissement d'un Etat indépendant par rapport à la Couronne des Habsbourg qui soit rapidement transformé d'un État multiethnique, multilingue et

[12] Hitchins 2013: 202-208.
[13] Toader 2006: 3.
[14] Hitchins 2013: 285, 286.
[15] Hitchins 2013: 306-307.
[16] Prodan 2002: 206.

multiconfessionnel, comme prévu, en un État national hongrois ayant l'usage exclusif de la langue Hongroise, selon la structure du Royaume de la Couronne de Saint Étienne[17] formé au 11ème siècle. De fait, ces deux dernières révolutions ont été également vaincues. Parfois, il y avait des appels à la conjugaison des forces, des négociations pour la réconciliation (stériles, quoique favorables et constructives), mais l'image générale nous montre une bataille quasi-fratricide entre les révolutionnaires hongrois et roumains. Ces mouvements ont été supprimés par la même intervention de l'armée russe dans le cadre des suppressions des révolutions sur le territoire de l'Empire[18].

LA PETITE UNIFICATION (1856-1859). LE RÈGNE DU PRINCE AL. I. CUZA (1859-1866)

La guerre de Crimée (1853-1856) apporte d'importants changements dans le statut politique et légal de la Moldavie et de la Valachie[19]. L'élection d'Alexandru Ioan Cuza en tant que souverain en Moldavie et ensuite en Valachie représente, bien que fragile, l'établissement de l'état national. Le règne d'Al. I. Cuza (1859-1866) fut riche en actions visant la modernisation des institutions et de la société roumaines[20]. En relation étroite avec cela, trois lois fondamentales ont fonctionné dans ces huit courtes années: la Convention de Paris (1858), le Statut du Développement de la même Convention de Paris (1864) et la Constitution de 1866, la première constitution du pays.

LE RÈGNE DE CHARLES I ET LA MODERNISATION DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE (1866-1914)

La Constitution de 1866 est la première constitution de la Roumanie dans le vrai sens du terme[21]. Cette constitution était, en substance et en forme, la constitution d'un État libre, souverain et indépendant (en dépit du fait que, nominalement, la Roumanie était encore dépendante): on y consacrait le nom de l'État – «Roumanie» (et non les Principautés unies de Moldavie et Valachie), l'Etat unitaire et indivisible, le drapeau national tricolore rouge-jaune-bleu, la monarchie constitutionnelle et héréditaire dans la famille Hohenzollern. Toutes ces dispositions sont celles d'un Etat indépendant, dirigé par une dynastie étrangère.

La Constitution de 1866 est celle qui ouvre le long règne du prince Charles Ier (Roi depuis 1881), un règne d'achèvements dans la consolidation de l'État, la conquête de l'indépendance (1877-1878) et sa reconnaissance[22], la restitution de Dobroudja, l'acquis du statut de pouvoir respecté dans la région (en 1913, par

[17] Jinga 1995: 77.
[18] Hitchins 2013: 326.
[19] Ciachir 1996: 47-49.
[20] Ciachir 1996: 57.
[21] Hitchins 1998: 33.
[22] Ciachir 1996: 94.

exemple, la Roumanie «arbitre» la deuxième guerre balkanique). Le règne de Charles I (1866-1914) se superpose sur la dernière partie de la période roumaine moderne jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale, suivie de la création de l'État national unitaire (en 1918).

LES ROUMAINS PENDANT LA MONARCHIE DE HABSBOURG (1848/49-1914)

La fin du XVIIe siècle amena un changement de domination en Transylvanie: les Ottomans seront vaincus et l'Autriche conquerra la Hongrie et la Transylvanie.

Le Diplôme de Léopold I de 1691, ayant un caractère de loi fondamentale[23], a consacré le système des trois nations privilégiées et des quatre religions acceptées, tout en maintenant des lois plus anciennes de la principauté. Telle était la situation des roumains de Transylvanie à la fin du XVIIe siècle, lorsque l'alternative de l'Union des orthodoxes et du clergé orthodoxe avec la Rome[24] catholique a été soulevée. Cela a ouvert la voie aux actions systématiques des roumains en Transylvanie afin d'obtenir des droits sociaux et politiques. L'union était l'instrument de manifestation des roumains en Transylvanie. Pour citer une formule inspirée, cette Union était pour les Roumains, dans leur affirmation et leurs efforts d'émancipation nationale, la réconciliation de la «Rome de l'empereur Trajan» avec la «Rome des Apôtres Pierre et Paul»[25].

Celui qui dessine les lignes directrices de l'action nationale roumaine s'appelait Ioan Inochentie Micu (Klein) (1692-1768), évêque entre 1732-1751 et membre du Parlement (la Diète) de Transylvanie[26]. Il synthétise d'abord les demandes des roumains en Transylvanie. La devise et la motivation des actions pourraient être exprimées comme suit: «Ne décidez rien sur nous sans nous et en notre absence».

Le plus représentatif mémoire était celui adressé à la Cour de Vienne (1744) et à l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse, connu sous le nom de *Supplex Libellus*. On y offrait des arguments historiques pour défendre les origines latines, l'âge et la continuité de la vie des Roumains dans cet espace. Le chemin ouvert a été suivi par d'autres dirigeants de Transylvanie dans la lutte pour l'émancipation nationale. Pendant la seconde moitié du 18ème siècle ses idées ont été reprises et développées dans un autre Supplex et plus tard par l'École Transylvane[27]. Peu à peu, la base sociale du mouvement national s'est élargie, les actions ont pris de plus en plus d'élan. De façon naturelle, est apparu le document Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transilvaniae (1791). En plus de l'origine, l'âge et la continuité des roumains, les

[23] *L'histoire de la Roumanie en données* 2003: 123.
[24] Armbruster 1993: 261.
[25] Hitchins 1997: 26.
[26] Armbruster 1993: 262.
[27] Hitchins 2013: 259-265.

travaux des savants de l'École Transylvane soulignaient l'unité culturelle de tous les roumains.

La vie politique et sociale en Transylvanie dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle est imprégnée par les mots d'ordre du gouvernement: centralisation, germanisation, catholicisassion. Dans ce contexte, on a essayé d'imposer le hongrois en tant que langue officielle. Cette situation a été souligné non par un Roumain, mais par un Saxon, Stephan Ludwig Roth, qui a déclaré: «Je ne vois pas la nécessité d'imposer une langue officielle au pays, car nous avons déjà une langue du pays. Ce n'est ni l'allemand ni le hongrois mais le roumain.»[28].

Après la révolution, la lutte pour l'émancipation continua, étant évident que l'Église était un outil d'action indispensable. Ainsi, grâce aux efforts communs des dirigeants de Transylvanie, l'évêché unifié de Blaj (1853) et l'évêché orthodoxe de Sibiu (1864) ont été élevés au rang métropolitain[29]. En effet, les dirigeants roumains des deux confessions conjugueront leurs efforts, en mettant en avant les revendications nationales et sociales.

Le Pacte austro-hongrois transforme le titre de l'Empire des Habsbourg de l'Autriche en Autriche-Hongrie (1867), le préservant ainsi de la dissolution[30]. La Hongrie avait la prééminence au sein de la monarchie, acquérant des droits et des territoires[31]. Elle annexe la Transylvanie et le Banat. On y tente l'intégration administrative totale et effective des provinces annexées. Une série de lois discriminatoires ont été prévues, la seule langue officielle devient le hongrois. Cet état de choses a déterminé les dirigeants roumains à fixer l'objectif principal de la lutte nationale: supprimer le régime dualiste. La Déclaration de Blaj[32] (écrite par George Baritiu et publiée aussi dans les journaux) fut la première action à grande échelle (1868). L'autonomie de Transylvanie y était requise, ainsi que la représentation proportionnelle de la population, s'ajoutant aux demandes plus anciennes.

Il y avait deux lignes d'action, deux approches, dont les objectifs étaient essentiellement les mêmes: l'une *active* promue par le groupe formé autour du métropolite Andrei Saguna[33], qui soutenait l'idée d'actions parlementaires et l'autre *passive*, représentée, entre autres, par Ion Ratiu, George Baritiu, Ilie Macelariu, partisans de la non-participation à la politique parlementaire, mais en faveur des actions sociales, économiques et culturelles. Le Parti National des Roumains en Transylvanie[34] a été créé en 1869. C'était déjà l'étape des luttes politiques organisées des roumains de Transylvanie.

Après la conquête de l'indépendance de l'État et la proclamation du Royaume de Roumanie (mai 1881), on fonde à Sibiu le Parti Unitaire National des Roumains

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[28] Pour ce «blasphème» St. L. Roth fut exécuté par les révolutionnaires hongrois.
[29] *L'histoire de la Roumanie en données* 2003: 185, 210.
[30] Scurtu 1995: 9.
[31] Scurtu 1995: 9.
[32] Hitchins 1999: 87-88.
[33] Hitchins 2013: 314-315.
[34] Scurtu 1995: 9.

de Transylvanie, de Banat et de Hongrie (par la fusion des deux partis nationaux roumains)[35], qui adopte une tactique *passive* qu'ils ont suivie jusqu'en 1905). Il y avait déjà un soutien officiel, venant de l'Ancien Royaume Roumain, pour les revendications de Transylvanie, pour leur lutte contre la politique hongroise de dénationalisation.

Le point culminant des actions du parti roumain dans la période de passivité a été le Mouvement du Mémorandum (1881-1895)[36]. Le *Mémorandum* des Roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie en 1892 a été écrit par Ion Ratiu, Eugen Brote, Vasile Lucaciu, George Pop de Basesti et présenté à la Cour Impériale à Vienne[37], sous l'égide du Parti National Roumain par une grande délégation. C'était un document écrit en termes énergiques, présentant l'état des choses en Transylvanie concernant les roumains et demandant leurs droits naturels. Comme l'a dit Ion Ratiu: «L'existence d'un peuple n'est pas discutée, on l'affirme.» Le Mémorandum n'a pas été lu par l'empereur, mais il a été envoyé à Budapest au gouvernement hongrois, qui l'a rejeté, et les dirigeants roumains ont été accusés de «coup d'état»[38].

La ligne politique du mouvement national roumain devient active après 1905. La période 1905-1914 nous montre de nouvelles tentatives des dirigeants politiques roumains du Parti National Roumain (PNR) et des gouverneurs hongrois de réconcilier les deux mêmes ensembles de principes aussi irréconciliables que celles de l'époque des révolutionnaires de 1848 (les quarante huitards)[39].

L'éclatement de la première guerre mondiale montre que les Roumains sous la monarchie des Habsbourg répondent fidèlement à l'appel aux armes et se battent pour l'Empire, avec de grandes pertes, depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier jour de la conflagration mondiale. Ce n'est qu'après la fin de la guerre, après de nombreux efforts, sacrifices et souffrances, que les roumains verront leur rêve se réaliser: l'union avec la mère patrie.

LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE MONDIALE

Après deux ans de neutralité (car l'Etat Roumain ne voulait pas se battre du côté des Puissances Centrales et de l'Entente, comme prévu dans les traités de 1883 signés avec l'Allemagne et l'Autriche-Hongrie)[40], l'Ancien Royaume de Roumanie s'engage dès l'été 1916 auprès de la France, la Russie et l'Italie. On envisageait de rendre les régions de Transylvanie, Banat, Crisana, Maramures et Bucovine à la mère patrie[41]. Comme c'était impossible de combattre simultanément et avec

[35] Scurtu 1995: 9.
[36] Deletant 1991: 13.
[37] Hitchins 1998: 217.
[38] Scurtu 1995: 11.
[39] Hitchins 1997: 60-61.
[40] Hitchins 1998: 253.
[41] Hitchins 1998: 254.

succès aussi contre la Russie (pour la récupération de la Bessarabie), cette variante a été choisie après de longues délibérations au Conseil de la Couronne.

LA FORMATION DE L'ÉTAT NATIONAL UNITAIRE ROUMAIN

L'année 1918 est une année mémorable pour les roumains. Après une guerre dévastatrice et des pourparlers internationaux compliqués, le résultat est la constitution de l'État national unitaire grâce à l'effet écrasante du discours du président Wilson, formulé en 14 points. En raison d'un contexte apparemment défavorable, notamment l'occupation allemande des deux tiers de l'Ancien Royaume et l'établissement d'un premier ministre philo-allemand, Marghiloman[42], on ramène, en mars 1918, la Bessarabie au sein de la patrie, c'est à dire le territoire entre le Prut et le Dniestr (27 mars/9 avril 1918). Tout, bien sûr, en raison des actions vigoureuses des élites patriotiques de Bessarabie et dans l'atmosphère immédiate d'après la Révolution bolchevique qui était l'adversaire de facto de toutes les réalisations nationales.

Le 18 Novembre/1 Décembre 1918 on tient à Alba Iulia l'Assemblée Nationale. On y proclame «l'unification des Roumains et de tous les territoires qu'ils habitent avec la Roumanie»[43]. Les régions de Transylvanie (proprement-dite), le Banat, la Crisana et le Maramures s'unissent avec la Roumanie. La Bucovine a été rendue à sa patrie (le 15/28 Novembre de la même année)[44]. La fin de 1918 trouve les roumains avec la plupart des commandements programmatiques achevés. Il s'agit de la constitution de l'Etat national unitaire (qui contenait en son sein la majorité des Roumains). Il restait, quand même, certains objectifs importants à poursuivre: la poursuite et l'achèvement de la modernisation de la société roumaine, la réforme agraire, et non sans raison, on y croit, de trouver des alliances politico-militaires fortes et appropriées pour préserver les frontières obtenues avec tant de sacrifices, de la Roumanie réunifiée.

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THE MACEDO-ROMANIANS (AROMANIANS) AND MEGLENO-ROMANIANS: THEIR POLITICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA (FROM THE XIXTH TO THE XXIST CENTURY)

EMIL ȚÎRCOMNICU

ABSTRACT

The Macedo-Romanians (Aromanians) and Megleno-Romanians, dialect-based communities living south of the Danube, have enjoyed the support of the Romanian cultural and political intelligentsia ever since the moment the modern state Romania was founded. The Romanian elites have supported the national awakening of the Macedo-Romanians (Aromanians) and Megleno-Romanians, their Romanian language education, keeping and promoting their cultural patrimony. For the Macedo- and Megleno-Romanian communities, this support entailed building schools and churches, collecting folk literature, publishing anthologies, scientific works, treatises, linguistic atlases, dialect and popular customs dictionaries. The Macedo-Romanians saw Romania as the Motherland; they called it Vlahia, Vlachland or Romanianland. Thanks to the efforts of the Romanian diplomats, when the Balkan nationalities experienced their renaissance, they also benefitted from two Ottoman decrees (in 1878 and 1905, respectively) which acknowledged their right to education in the Romanian language and the right to be represented by people from their communities. Owing to this support, the immaterial patrimony of the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians, minorities in relation to the Romanian state, has endured and was promoted worldwide.

Keywords: Macedo-Romanians, Aromanians, Balkans, dialect-based communities, schools and churches, cultural patrimony.

In 1859, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia formed a union, electing Alexandru Ioan Cuza as their common ruler. Three years after this moment, when the first Parliament opened its session, on January 24, 1862, the United Principalities took the name Romania, having Bucharest for capital city. The name of the country was thereby consecrated as Romania by the Constitution from July 1st, 1866.

After 1750, many Aromanians left their cities, in the historical Macedonia (which gave them their other ethnic name, "Romanians from Macedonia"), an area containing the northern part of Greece, South Albania and the present-day Republic of Macedonia, to work as craftsmen, goods transporters, merchants or mercenaries,

in the Romanian Principalities, as well as in the Austrian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and in various cities in Italy and Germany. A great number of Aromanians, known as moscopoleans (after Moscopole, the most important Aromanian city in Albania) moved around 1760 and 1780, in the years following the destruction by the Ottomans of the commercial centers in South Albania (Moscopole, Grabova, Linotope), to establish in the commercial cities of the Central and South-East Europe.

Some of the Aromanians who moved to Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldova had a strong Romanian ethnic conscience and considered themselves to be related to the Carpathian Romanians. Amongst them, there were families such as Grabowsky, Şaguna, Gojdu, Mocioni, Derra, Pometa, Nicolics, Vrani, etc.

In the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, scholars from Moscopole wrote about the connections betweeen the Carpathian Romanians and those from Macedonia. Amongst these scholars, we could mention the protopresbyter Th. A. Cavallioti (*Protopiria. Vocabular în trei limbi – aromână, greacă şi albaneză* – Protopiria. A Three Languages Lexicon: Aromanian, Greek and Albanian, 1770), Constantin Hagi Ceagani, who gave Cavallioti's book to professor Johannes Thunmann from Halle, Daniil Moscopoleanu (*Învăţătura introducătoare* – Introductory Learning, 1794), Constantin Ucuta Moscopoleanu (*Noua Pedagogie* – The New Pedagogy, 1797), Gheorghe Roja (*Cercetări despre românii de peste Dunăre* – Researches about the Romanians living across the Danube, 1808, şi *Măestria Ghiuvăsirii româneşti cu litere latineşti, care sunt literile românilor ceale vechi* – The Art of Reading Romanian with Latin Letters, That Are the Old letters of the Romanians, 1809), Mihail C. Boiagi (*Gramatica – Grammar*, 1813), etc.

Also the Romanian scholars of the time wrote about the existence of the Balkan Romanians. Those who mentioned them are Miron Costin (*Cronica polonă* – The Polish Chronicle, 1684), Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino (*Istoria Ţării Româneşti* – History of Wallachia, 1706), Dimitrie Cantemir (*Historia Moldo-Vlahica* – History of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1714, şi *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldoviae nominibus* – About the Ancient and contemporary Moldavian Names, 1716), etc.

As it has been shown, permanent contacts, sprung out of commercial needs, between the southern and the northern parts of the Balkan Peninsula existed since the late XVIIth century until the beginning of the XIXth century. Owing to them, the regions where Romanian speaking populations lived in the Balkans were known to the Romanian principalities.

Some of the participants in the 1848 Revolution, such as Ion Ionescu de la Brad and general Christian Tell, who were exiled from their countries, lived among the Aromanian communities from the Ottoman Empire. Nicolae Bălcescu was interested in the fate of the Aromanians, and the same holds true for Mihail Kogălniceanu, Anastasie Panu, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Costache Negrii, Gr. Grandea, Grigore Ghica, Ion Ghica or Dimitrie Bolintineanu, whose father was Aromanian and who wrote in 1858 and published in 1863 a book called *Călătorii la românii*

din Macedonia și Muntele Athos (Voyages to the Romanians from Macedonia and the Mount Athos).

In 1857, Ioan Maiorescu visited the Istro-Romanians from Istria, but it was not until 1872 that his study, *Itinerariu în Istria* (Travel in Istria), was published in the journal *Convorbiri literare*.

Since the apparition of the Romanian modern state, one of the objectives of the elites was to help the populations considered to have the same ethnic origin, who lived outside the borders of the state. And some of the members of the elites were Macedo-Romanians established in Romania.

In this respect, in 1860 a Macedo-Romanian Committee was formed in Bucharest, aiming to promote a national revival and help for the Macedo-Romanians living in Greece and the Ottoman Empire, in order for them to gain national conscience and to escape the Greek influence. The founding members of this committee were Dimitrie Casacovici, Costache and Iordache Goga brothers, Zisu Sideri, Mihail Niculescu, Toma Tricopol, etc. The committee launched a Call[1] to the Macedo-Romanians. In 1863, many important personalities of the time, such as General Christian Tell, Cezar Boliac, C.A. Rosetti, V.A. Urechia, D. Brătianu, M. Kogălniceanu, Ion Ghica, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, joined this committee.

On the 2nd of June, 1864, the tailor Dimitrie Atanasescu, who had moved from Constantinople to Bucharest in 1861 to gain instruction in order to open a Romanian school for the Macedo-Romanians from the Balkans, found the occasion and the funding (2,000 lei) provided by the Romanian government (according to the decree from 16th of April, 1864), to inaugurate a school in his own house, situated in the village of Târnova, next to Bitolia, in the Ottoman Empire (in what is now the Republic of Macedonia). But he was confronted by the Greek metropolitan and forced to come back to Bucharest, where he dedicated himself to writing handbooks meant to be used in the Macedonian schools.

Another Aromanian, the archimandrite Averchie, *stareț* (the abbot) of the Iviru monastery at mount Athos, first came to Bucharest in order to negotiate with the Romanian government the situation of the Greek properties in Romania that were impropriated by the Romanian state. In Bucharest, he discovered his Romanian conscience and in 1865 he selected ten boys to be educated in Bucharest at the "Sfinții Apostoli" Macedo-Romanian Institute, established in Bucharest on the 16th of July, 1865. Another group of children started their studies there in 1867. At that moment, a total of 30 pupils studied in that school.

Upon the request of the Macedo-Romanian communities living in the village and cities of Macedonia, the Romanian government funded the schools for the

[1] Call "To the Brothers in Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly and Albania", who demanded replacing the Greek language in school and church. In 1858, another call was published in the journal *Dâmbovița*, by Dimitrie Casacovici, whose house was the meeting center for the leaders of the Macedo-Romanian colony in Bucharest; they planned to open schools in the villages and cities from the Balkans (conf. Muși, 1959: 223).

Macedo-Romanian children, in Avdela (1867), Vlaho-Clisura (1868), Ohrid (1868), Veria (1870), Gopeş (1873), Cruşova (1876), Neveasta (1875), Perivoli (1878), Perlep (1878), Bitolia (1878), Molovişte (1880), Hrupişte (1880), Magarova (1880), Băiasa (1880), Samarina (1880), Furca (1880), Nijopole (1881), etc.[2] At the beginning of the XXth century, there were more than 100 schools. A great number of articles in the Romanian journals and newspapers presented to the public all these cultural and educational achievements of the Macedo-Romanian communities in the Balkans.

The Romanian Academy (established first on the 1st of April, 1866, as the Romanian Literary Society, and having changed its name twice: on the 1st of August, 1867, as the Romanian Academic Society, and in 1879, when it became the Romanian Academy) had founding members from all the provinces inhabited by Romanians: 7 from Romania, 3 from Transylvania, 3 from Bessarabia, 2 from Bucovina, 2 from Banat and 2 from Macedonia (Dimitrie Casacovici and Ioan D. Caragiani). In 1889, the Academy elected Apostol Mărgărit as a correspondent member, a teacher, founder of schools, and school inspector for the instruction in Macedonia.

The lecture of *Monitorul Oficial* (The Official Gazette of Romania) one can that since 1878, the Macedo-Romanians who lived for several years in Romania, having a recognized social activity, some of them veterans of the Independence War, were granted Romanian citizenship upon request, as Romanians from Macedonia. A great number of Aromanians received citizenship this way, until the second half of the XXth century.

On the 23rd of September, 1879, the Macedo-Romanian Committee became the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society, whose purpose was to establish and maintain the Romanian schools in the Balkans. Many of its members were famous personalities of the time: the metropolitan Calinic, V.A. Urechia, Ion and Dumitru Brătianu, Ion and Dumitru Ghica, C.A. Rosetti, Ion Câmpineanu, Christian Tell, D.A. Sturdza, T. Maiorescu, Vasile Alecsandri, Iacob Negruzzi, N. Kreţulescu, dr. Calinderu, Gh. Chiţu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, etc. In 1880, the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society edited *Albumul Macedo-Român* (The Macedo-Romanian Album), created by a number of important writers, both Romanians and foreigners. The publishing of this album had a vast cultural impact, as it is reflected in the contemporary press.

In 1869, the number of Macedo-Romanians living in Albania, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece was estimated to be one million and a half. The total number of all the Macedo-Romanians in the world was 1,750,000[3].

We could set apart two important political moments in the process of acknowledging the Romanian nationality and the right to Romanian language education and church service: the 5th of September, 1878, when the vizier Safvel Pasha issued an order granting the right to education and the church services in

[2] Burada, 1887: 73-83.
[3] Babesiu, 1869.

Romanian language throughout the Ottoman Empire; the Sultan's decree (iradea) of 10th of May, 1905, by which the Sultan Abdul Hamid the II, pressed by the Romanian diplomats, recognized the rights of his Wallach/Romanian subjects (that is, Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians) to have access to education in Romanian language and to choose their communal representatives. However, the communities were split from the point of view of the national status. Many Aromanians identified themselves as Greeks, and their arguments were: in the Orthodox church the service was in Greek and the Ottoman Empire didn't discriminate between nations, but between religions and confessions; Greece gained independence during the 1828-1829 War, in which they also participated; since long time, the merchants companies in Europe perceived them as Greeks; the ancient Greek culture was very prestigious.

At the turn of the XXth century, the Balkan nations struggled to proclaim their own national states. Stuck between them, the Macedo-Romanians endorsed the maintaining of the Ottoman Empires, pledging their fidelity to the Sultan. The collapse of the Empire and the partition of its territory between the Balkan states could have led, in their opinion, to assimilation and to losing their advantages of having education and church services in Romanian language.

The situation of the Macedo-Romanians from the Balkans was correctly reflected in the newspaper *România liberă*, which, in the number from the 3rd of December, 1881 (year V, no. 1,341), published an article sent from San-Marina and signed "De la Pind" (From Pind): "Until 1879, the Romanians from Pind had only desired the union with their Greek neighbours, they had only wanted to get rid of their actual [Ottoman] master and to become one with the enemy of their nation; and all this because the sparks sent from the Carpathians to Pind were too weak to preserve their light as far as the famous Pind, renowned through the courage of its inhabitants. But since these sparks became stronger, owing to the institution establishment of the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society, founded and lead by the most reputed men from the free Romania, whose patriotism and noble pan-Romanian ideas are known to all the Romanians; ever since things started to change and the sparks reached the inhabitants of Macedo-Wallachia and inspired, as if through the work of the Holy Spirit, the ideas, the feelings and the aspirations of their brothers from the Carpathians, ever since that moment, the Romanians from Macedonia and Pind started to feel thoroughly Romanian; they have but one single dream, to advance the Romanian culture and civilisation; they only want to wake up from their long lethargy they lingered on for so many years, brought about by the machinations of their neighbours, they only want to be regenerated and, as a nation totally different from its neighbours, to occupy their proper rank in the future destiny of the Eastern peoples. But, in order for all these hopes of the Romanians to come true, the very first thing to do is to introduce our maternal language in the church [service]. We will only feel regenerated and totally free from the Greek influence when we have our own clergy. As representatives in the Ottoman Empire

of the Romanian nation from the Balkans and Pind, our priests will plead the cause of the Romanians, with all their heart, as good brothers, for the Romanians interest, unlike the way things are going now, when under the robe hides an agent of the pan-Hellenism, set to destroy the pan-Romanism."

The German linguist Gustav Weigand, who travelled through the Balkans, published a work about the Balkan Wlachs in the Olympus region in Leipzig in 1888: *Die Sprache der Olympo-Walachen nebst einer Einleitung über Land und Leute* (The Language of the Wlachs from Olympus, together with an Introduction about the Land and the People). Later, in 1892, he published another study, *Vlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung* (The Vlacho-Meglens. An Ethnographical and Philological Investigation), in which he stated that these Vlachs spoke another dialect of Romanian, different from the Macedo-Romanian dialect, despite the fact that they lived in the Macedonian region, in the neighborhood of the Macedo-Romanians. Their language, the different anthropological features, the fact they were mainly agriculturalists, as well as their compact localization, in the Meglen region, led the scholars from the end of the XIXth century to embrace the idea that the Vlachs and the Aromanians were different peoples. They got their name the name of their region: Vlacho-Meglens or Megleno-Romanians, that is Wallachs (Romanians) from Meglen. In 1894 and 1895, Weigand published the two volumes about Aromanians, *Die Aromunen. Ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren*, and from that moment on the scientific community adopted the name Aromanian, unifying the different names by which they had previously been known.

In 1895, Ioan Nenițescu published *De la românii din Turcia Europeană. Studiu etnic și statistic asupra aromânilor* (From the Romanians of the European Turkey. Ethnical and Statistical Study of the Aromanians), a rich monography of the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian communities in the Ottoman Empire, which was awarded the "Năsturel Herescu" prize by the Romanian Academy.

Pericle Papahagi published several works about Megleno-Romanians: *Românii din Meglenia. Texte și glosar* (The Romanians from Meglen. Texts and Glossary, 1900), and *Megleno-Românii, Studiu etnografico-filologic,* 2 vol. (The Megleno-Romanians. An Ethnographical and Philological Study, 1902). He also published some studies about the Aromanians, amongst which *Din literatura poporană a aromânilor* (From the Popular Letterature of the Aromanians, 1900); *Basme aromâne și glosar* (Aromanian Tales and Glossary, 1905); *Scriitori aromâni în secolul al XVIII-lea (Cavalioti, Ucuta, Daniil)* (Aromanian Writers in the XVIIIth century, 1909); *Graie aromâne* (Aromanian Dialects, 1905); *Poezia înstrăinării la aromâni* (The Enstrangement Poetry at the Aromanians, 1912); *Din trecutul cultural al aromânilor* (Excerpts from the Cultural Past of the Aromanians, 1912), etc.

These studies were rapidly disseminated in Romania, their publication being signalled in different newspapers and journals in order for the existence of these communities speaking Romanian dialects to be made known.

During the interval 1902-1908, the teachers and pupils from the Romanian Lyceum in Bitolia edited a journal called *Lumina. Revista românilor din Imperiul Otoman* (The Light. Journal of the Romanians from the Ottoman Empire), containing articles both in literary Romanian and in the Aromanian dialect.

There ensued a bleak period for the Macedo-Romanians (that is, the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians who had embraced the Romanian culture and saw themselves as Romanians) after the issuing of the Imperial decree, until the Young Turks Revolution, in 1908. Many of their leaders died in the hands of the Greek *antarts*, who considered that the consolidation of the Romanian communities was an obstacle to the extension of Greece, after the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire.

The Balkan Wars during 1912-1913 and the conflict between Romania and Bulgaria led, in 1913, to the Bucharest Peace treaty, who stipulated, among other things, the rights of the Aromanians living in the Balkan states (Greece, Bulgaria, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

The First Balkan War had, everywhere in the region, dramatic consequences, such as the destruction of villages, schools, churches, the impression of men into different armies, etc. The war in the Balkans continued after 1918 with the conflict which opposed Greeks and Turks in Asia Minor (1919-1921) and led to the populations exchange. Over 1,500,000 Greeks flooded the Greece territory. A great number of them settled in the northern part of the country, among the Macedo-Romanian communities. For this reason, in some Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian centres (Veria, Vodena, Meglenia) the idea of moving to Romania began to take root.

In 1924 and 1925, several national congresses were organized, in order to discuss the problem of relocating the Macedo-Romanians to Romania, the Motherland, as it was called. The Aromanians sent a few delegates to Bucharest, and the Romanian government allowed 1,500 families to settle in Romania; they were to receive pieces of land in Southern Dobrudja (The Quadrilateral).

Thus started what was called at that time the "Macedo-Romanian colonization", actually granting plots of land as well as citizenship, to the settlers in the Quadrilateral. Up to 1940 over 5,000 families of Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians moved to Romania from Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

From 1939, the Romanian borders fell apart, as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, of the Vienna Diktat, which forced the country to give away the northern part of Transylvania, and of the Soviets' ultimatum, who claimed Bessarabia, North Bukovina, and the Herța region. King Carol the Second abdicated, and Romania, forced by the Bulgarian ultimatum, signed the Craiova Treaty in September 1940, by which it transferred the Quadrilateral to Bulgaria and accepted the mandatory exchange of populations between Romanians of "Romanian ethnic origin and Romanians of Bulgarian ethnic origin" from both North and South Dobrudja. Thus, 60,000 Bulgarians left North Dobrudja, replaced by over 100,000 Romanians from the Quadrilateral (this number including about 30,000 Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians).

The course of the historical events in the first half of the XXth century clearly shows how hard the times were in the interwar period for the Macedo-Romanians from the Balkans. They moved to Romania hoping that insecure times would come to to an end in this way. They had to build houses in the Quadrilateral, only to be relocated again to North Dobrudja, to experience the hell of the Second World War and, immediately after that, to suffer together with all the Romanians at the hands of the Soviets, who brought communism to Romania.

In the years following the Great Union, Cluj, Iași, and Bucharest Universities founded linguistics and dialectology departments, where generations of students explored the dialects of the Romanian language and were formed as specialists in the history and characteristics of the Romanians from the Balkans.

During the first half of the XXth century, scholars educated mostly in the Balkan Romanian schools published a great number of books, studies, linguistics and ethnology articles, folk literature collections, monographs about the Aromanians.

The brilliant Aromanian linguists, Tache Papahagi and Theodor Capidan, who had been educated in the Balkan Romanian schools, developed the method of the linguistic ethnography, or ethno-linguistics.

Theodor Capidan (b. 1879, Prilep – d. 1953, Bucharest) was a professor at the the University of Cluj (1919-1937) and the University of Bucharest (1937-1948), as well as a correspondent member (from 1928) and full member (from 1932) of the Romanian Academy. The Romanian Academy awarded him the "Năsturel" Prize (1925) and "Eliade Rădulescu" Prize (1932). He left an impressive body of work. Some of his most important studies are *Românii din Peninsula Balcanică* (The Romanians from the Balkan Peninsula, 1924), *Românii nomazi. Studiu din viața Românilor din sudul Peninsulei Balcanice* (The Nomadic Romanians. Studying the Life of the Romanians from the South of the Balkan Peninsula, 1927), *Fărșeroții. Studiu lingvistic asupra aromânilor din Albania* (The Farsherots. Linguistic Study of the Aromanians from Albania, 1931), *Aromânii. Dialectul Aromân* (The Aromanians. The Aromanian Dialect, 1932), *Meglenoromânii*, 3 vol. (The Megleno-Romanians, 1928, 1932, 1935), *Macedoromânii. Etnografie, istorie, limbă* (The Macedo-Romanians. Ethnography, History, Language, 1942), *Limbă și cultură* (Language and Culture, 1943). Capidan was also one of the authors of *Atlasul Lingvistic Român* (The Romanian Linguistic Atlas). He conducted linguistic research of the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian dialects, studying the Aromanian writings from the XVIIIth century, the Aromanian folk literature, and also from his own field collections. He presented the history, the population number, and the extent of the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians, their occupations and traditions, their culture, as well as the social role these communities played in the life of the Balkan peoples.

Tache Papahagi (b. 1891, Avdela – d. 1977, Bucharest), also a university professor with the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest, published a number of works about the Aromanians and edited pieces of literature written in the Aromanian dialect: *Aromânii din punct de vedere istoric, cultural și*

politic (Aromanians from a Historical, Cultural and Political Approach, 1915), *La românii din Albania* (Visiting the Aromanians from Albania, 1920), *Antologie aromânească* (Aromanian Anthology, 1922), *Din folkorul romanic şi cel latin* (Fragments of Romance and Latin Folklore, 1923), *Biblioteca naţională a aromânilor*, 3 vol. (The Aromanian National Library, 1926-1935). During the interval 1928-1934, he published three volumes of an album called *Images d'ethnographie roumaine* (Images of Romanian Ethnography), containing photographs about the Daco-Romanians and Aromanians ethnography.

George Murnu published *Istoria românilor din Pind. Vlahia Mare (950-1259)* (The History of the Romanians from the Pind Mountains, 950-1259) in 1913, and *Românii din Bulgaria medievală* (The Romanians from Medieval Bulgaria), în 1939. He was also a prolific translator and poet. Valeriu Papahagi published lots of studies regarding the Aromanians, including a book called *Aromânii moscopoleni şi comerţul veneţian* (The Moscopole Aromanians and the Venetian Commerce, 1935) about the Moscopole trade and the relations of the Aromanian merchants with the Italian cities. Anastasie Hâciu published a monography regarding the Macedo-Romanian colonies in Europe and North Africa, called *Aromânii. Comerţ, industrie, arte, expansiune, civilizaţie* (The Aromanians. Commerce, Industry, Arts, Expansion, Civilization, 1936).

The communist rulers of Romania also allowed the publishing of scientific studies about Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians during the second half of the XXth century. The linguists and ethnographers continued to do research in Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, collecting data in order to put together linguistic atlases.

After 1948, the Romanian government didn't finance the schools and churches in the Balkans anymore. This led to the assimilation of the Aromanians by the populations among which they lived. Romania did not have any initiative to protect the rights of the Aromanian communities. The Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society saw its properties confiscated and was forced to cease its activity.

In 1959 Silviu Dragomir published *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu* (The Wlachs from the Northern Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages). Tache Papahagi authored *Dicţionarul dialectului aromân* (The Dictionary of the Aromanian Dialect, first published in 1963, republished in 1974 and 2013). In 1964, Tache Papahagi became professor emeritus and was awarded the State Prize.

In 1962, Matilda Caragiu Marioţeanu published *Liturghier aromânesc. Un manuscris anonim inedit* (The Aromanian Liturgy Book. An Inedited Anonymous Manuscript), for which she was awarded the Education Ministry Prize. In 1975, the Socialist Republic of Romania Academy rewarded her with the "Timotei Cipariu" Prize for *Compendiu de dialectologie română (nord- şi sud-dunăreană)* (Compendium of Romanian Dialectology, from the North and South of the Danube). Apart from *Fonomorfologie aromână. Studiu de dialectologie structurală* (Aromanian Phonetics and Morphology. Study in the Structural Dialectology, 1968), she published a number of other studies. In 1993, the Romanian Academy received her as a correspondent

member, and she became a full member in 2004. After 1990, she published: *Dodecalog al aromânilor sau 12 adevăruri incontestabile, istorice și actuale asupra aromânilor și asupra limbii lor* (The Aromanians Dodecalog, or, 12 Uncontested, Historical and Actual Truths about the Aromanians and their Language, 1993), *Dicționar aromân (macedo-vlah) A-D* (An Aromanian / Macedo-Wlach Dictionary, 1997), *Aromânii și aromâna în conștiința contemporană* (The Aromanians and Aromanian Language in the Popular Conscience, 2006), together with some poetry books in Aromanian: *Di nuntru și-di nafoarâ – Stihuri armânești / Din năuntru și din afară – Stihuri aromâne* (From Inside and from Outside – Aromanian Verses, 1994) *Néuri. Zăpezi. Neiges* (Snows, 2002), *Poeme aromâne* (Aromanian Poems, 2006).

In 1972, Nicolae Saramandu published his PhD thesis, *Cercetări asupra aromânei vorbite în Dobrogea* (Research on the Aromanian Language Spoken in Dobrudja). In 1982, N. Gh. Craiani and N. Saramandu edited together *Folclor aromân grămostean* (Aromanian Folklore from Gramostea). Nicolae Saramandu was first a researcher with the Institute for Ethnological and Dialectological Studies, and, from 1990 on, he became a researcher within the framework of the Linguistic Institute of the Romanian Academy. He wrote hundreds of articles and studies about Romanian dialects from the South of the Danube, as well as books such as: *Lingvistica integrală. Interviu cu Eugeniu Coșeriu* (Integral Linguistics. An Interview with Eugeniu Coșeriu, 1996), *Studii aromâne și meglenoromâne* (Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian Studies, 2003), *Romanitatea orientală* (The Oriental Romance Peoples, 2004), *Structura aromânei actuale. Graiurile din Dobrogea. Texte dialectale* (The Structure of Contemporary Aromanian. Dobrudja Dialects. Dialectal Texts, 2005), *Aromâna vorbită în Dobrogea. Texte dialectale. Glosar* (The Aromanian language spoken in Dobrudja. Dialectal texts. Glossary, 2007), *Atlasul lingvistic al dialectului aromân* (The Linguistic Atlas of the Aromanian Dialect, 2014).

Starting from the eighth decade of the XXth century, the writer Hristu Cândroveanu published a number of anthologies and books such as: *Antologie de lirică aromână* (Aromanian Poetry Anthology, 1975), *Antologie de proză aromână* (Aromanian Prose Anthology, 1977), *Un veac de poezie aromână* (A Century of Aromanian Poetry, 1985, with Kira Iorgoveanu), *Trei balade armânești* (Three Aromanian Ballads, 1975, with Ioan Cutova), *Aromânii: ieri și azi* (The Aromanians: Yesterday and Today, 1995), *Cinci balade aromâne* (Five Aromanian Ballads, 1996), *Parmithi di niadzadzua* (1997), *Gramatica aromână. Practica* (Aromanian Grammar. Practical Study, 1998, coauthored by Ion Coteanu), *Antologia poeziei străine în grai aromân* (Anthology of Foreign Poems Translated into Aromanian, 2000), *Carte de vacanță pentru aromâni* (Holiday Book for the Aromanians, 2001-2002), *Antologia poeziei române clasice și moderne în grai aromân* (Anthology of Classical and Modern Romanian Poetry Translated into Aromanian, 2003), *Antologia poeziei române contemporane în grai aromân* (Contemporary Romanian Poetry Translated into Aromanian, 2004), *Abecedar român-aromân* (Romanian-Aromanian Primer, 2004, cu Eugenia Cândroveanu),

Caleidoscop aromân, 5 vol. (Aromanian Kaleidoscope, 1998-2002), *Despre aromâni. De vorbă cu Hristu Cândroveanu* (About the Aromanians. Talking with Hristu Cândroveanu, 2006, coauthored by Emil Țîrcomnicu). He also edited the journals *Deșteptarea* and *Dimândarea*, during the last decade of the XXth century and the beginning of the XXIst century.

In 1976, Chirata Iorgoveanu-Dumitru edited *Antologie de poezie populară aromână* (Aromanian Folk Poetry Anthology). In the Foreword (pp. XIX-XX), the editor stated: "The Aromanian folk poetry represents an important linguistic and poetic document, of a unique beauty and magnificence"; and: "The Aromanians kept alive, throughout the centuries of their existence, the proof of their ethnic unity: the language. The Aromanian dialect – preserved in its genuine form – is the only testament the Aromanians have to prove they preserved the Romanian language."

The ethnomusicologist George Marcu, a researcher with the Institute of Folklore since its foundation, in 1949, collected Aromanian music and helped the Romanian Radio Broadcasting Society with the recording, of pieces sang in Aromanian in 1970. In 1977, he published *Folclor musical aromân* (Aromanian Music Folklore) at Muzica Publishing House. The field recordings he conducted are kept in the Archive of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore.

In the Archive of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore there is also an ethnographic photography fund, created during the 1970's and 1980's by the photographers Titi Popescu and C. Breazna.

In this respect, one cannot maintain that the communist era banned the study of the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians. On the contrary, the scholars closely studied the dialects of the Romanian language and many scientific and literature books and articles on this subject were accepted for publishing.

After 1990, Romania renewed its contacts with some of the Aromanian associations in the Balkans, especially following the moment when the country became a member of the European Union and NATO, in several bilateral diplomatic consultations. The Romanian government often asked for a reciprocity in the treatment applied to the Romanian speaking communities in the Balkans (Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians, Istro-Romanians, Timoc Romanians).

In Romania, as well as in some Balkan countries, the Aromanians founded several associations which promote the rights of their people.

In 1997, The Parliament Assembly of the European Union voted the Recommendation regarding the Aromanian language and culture.

Nowadays, the Republic of Macedonia recognizes the Aromanians under the name of Wlachs. The national television grants them broadcasting time; a number of folklore festivals are organized, in order to maintain the Aromanian identity; some cultural associations also unfold their activity in the country.

In October 2017, the Albanian Parliament recognized the existence of national minorities, including the Aromanians. By the end of February 2018, local televisions in Korcea and Gjirokaster had some broadcasts in Aromanian.

Since its foundation, the Romanian state has acted continuously with a view to supporting the Aromanians' and Megleno-Romanians' identity and culture and to preserve their immaterial patrimony by investing in schools, churches, and cultural centres. Romania considers them a minority related to the Romanians, living outside the present-day borders of the country and speaking dialects of the Proto-Romanian language. As we will see, these actions have led to the creation of a dialectal literature, to the collection and publishing of folklore, to the publication of atlases and linguistic works, in order to preserve, to study, and to promote the dialects on a scientific and cultural level.

In 1997, the linguist Petru Neiescu published *Mic atlas al dialectului aromân din Albania şi din Fosta Republică Iugoslavă Macedonia* (Small dictionary of the Aromanian dialect spoken in Albania and the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia).

Stoica Lascu published a number of books dedicated to the history of the Aromanians (*Romanitatea balcanică în conştiinţa societăţii româneşti până la Primul Război Mondial* – Balkan Romanism in the Conscience of the Romanian Society until the First World War, 2013; *Românii balcanici în Dobrogea* – The Balkan Romanians in Dobrudja, 2016). Nistor Bardu also published books (*Limba scrierilor aromâneşti de la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea (Cavalioti, Daniil, Ucuta)* – The Language of the Aromanian Writings from the End of the XVIIIth Century: Cavalioti, Daniil, Ucuta, 2004 ş.a.) and articles about the Aromanian dialect. In Skopje, Petar Atanasov published *Atlasul Lingvistic al Dialectului Meglenoromân* (Linguistic Atlas of the Megleno-Romanian Dialect), containting three volumes (2008, 2013, 2015), books (*Meglenoromâna astăzi* – Megleno-Romanian Today, 2002, etc.) and articles. Gheorghe Zbuchea published *O istorie a aromânilor din Peninsula Balcanică (secolele XVIII-XX)* (A History of the Aromanians from the Balkan Peninsula, XVIIIth to XXth Century, 1999) and a book coauthored by Stelian Brezeanu, *Românii de la sud de Dunăre. Documente* (The Romanians from the South of the Danube. Documents, 1997). Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu and Maria Pariza edited *Aromânii în publicaţiile culturale 1880-1940 (reviste, almanahuri, calendare). Bibliografia analitică* (The Aromanians in the Cultural Press 1880-1940 (Journals, Almanacs, Calendars). Analytic Bibliography, 2003). Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu and Maria Petre published two volumes of documents, entitled *Şcoli şi biserici din Peninsula Balcanică 1864-1948* (Schools and Churches in the Balkan Peninsula 1864-1948; 2004). Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu also coordinated *Aromâni, meglenoromâni, istroromâni. Aspecte identitare şi culturale* (Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians, Istro-Romanians. Identity and Cultural Aspects, 2012). Maria Magiru wrote *Dobrogea. Studiu etnografic. Vol. II. Românii balcanici (aromânii)* (Dobrudja. Ethnographic Study. Second volume: Balkan Romanians – Aromanians, 2001). Paula Popoiu edited the album *Aromânii. Catalog de colecţie* (The Aromanians. A Collection catalogue, 2009).

Many researchers, especially linguists, ethnographers, and folklorists, published a great number of dialectology studies and articles, in which they analyzed and presented the Romanian dialects from the south of the Danube. They published a significant number of books presenting their field collections, but also albums and DVDs containing Aromanian music. To the next generation of researchers belong Manuela Nevaci (*Verbul în aromână. Structură şi valori* – The Verb in Aromanian. Structure and Values, 2006, *Graiul aromânilor fărşeroţi din Dobrogea* – The Language of the Farsherot Aromanians in Dobrudja, 2011, *Identitate românească în context balcanic* – Romanian Identity in a Balkan Context, 2013, *Dialectele aromân şi meglenoromân. Studiu sincronic* – The Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian Dialects. A Syncronic Study, 2013, *Scriitori aromâni de ieri şi de azi. Antologie de texte şi studiu filologic* – Aromanian Writers from Yesterday and Today. An Anthology and Philological Study, 2013), Emil Ţîrcomnicu (*Minorităţi româneşti sud-dunărene. Studiul etnologic al aromânilor* – The Romanian Minorities from the South of the Danube. An Ethnological Study of the Aromanians, 2007), Virgil Coman (*Aromânii şi meglenoromânii din Banat (1945-1951). Demografie, societate, izvoare* – The Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians from Banat (1945-1951). Demography, Society, Sources, 2016), Iulia Wisoşenschi (*Reflectări ale legăturilor de rudenie în literatura orală aromână* – Reflexes of Kinship in the Oral Aromanian Literature, 2016), Ionuţ Nistor (*Problema aromână în raporturile României cu statele balcanice 1903-1913* – The Aromanian Issue in the Relations between Romania and the Balkan States 1903-1913; 2009, *Identitate şi geopolitică. Românii din sudul Dunării în timpul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial* – Identity and Geopolitics. The Romanians from the south of the Danube during the Second World War, 2014). During the last four years (2014-2017), a group of ethno-linguists, Iulia Wisoşenschi, Nistor Bardu, Emil Ţîrcomnicu şi Cătălin Alexa, published four albums, all called *Lecturi etnologice vizuale la aromânii din Albania* (Visual ethnological readings at the Aromanians from Albania), result of their researches conducted in the center and south of Albania.

There are a large number of achievements regarding the knowledge about the Romanians form the Balkans. I have only foregrounded some of the most important of them in this article. A solid basis for knowing the spiritual patrimony of the Romanian dialectal communities in the Balkans was set during the two centuries of cultural relations, with a wide range of books and articles and studies published during this interval.

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CENTENARUL ROMÂN ÎN TEXTE ŞI FOTOGRAFII ISTORICE (THE ROMANIAN CENTENNIAL BY HISTORICAL TEXTS AND PHOTOS)

„În numele poporului Basarabiei, Sfatul Ţării declară: Republica Democratică Moldovenească (Basarabia); în hotarele ei dintre Prut, Nistru, Marea Neagră şi vechile graniţe cu Austria, ruptă de Rusia acum o sută şi mai bine de ani din trupul vechii Moldove, în puterea dreptului istoric şi a dreptului de neam, pe baza principiului ca noroadele singure să-şi hotărască soarta lor, de azi înainte şi pentru totdeauna se uneşte cu mamă-sa România [...].

Basarabia unindu-se ca fiică cu mamă-sa România, parlamentul român va hotărî convocarea neîntârziată a Constituantei, în care vor intra proporţional cu populaţia şi reprezentanţii Basarabiei, aleşi prin vot universal, egal, direct şi secret, spre a hotărî împreună cu toţii înscrierea în constituţie a principiilor şi garanţiilor de mai sus. Trăiască unirea Basarabiei cu România de-a pururea şi totdeauna".

(Declaraţia Sfatului Ţării, 27 martie 1918)

„În urma unirii cu România-mamă a Bucovinei, Ardealului, Banatului şi ţinuturilor ungureşti, locuite de români în hotarele Dunării şi Tisei, Sfatul Ţării declară că Basarabia renunţă la condiţiunile de unire stipulate în actul de la 27 martie, fiind încredinţată că în România tuturor românilor regimul curat democratic este asigurat pe viitor. Sfatul Ţării în preziua Constituantei române, care se va alege după votul universal, şi rezolvând chestia agrară după nevoile şi cererile poporului, anulează celelalte condiţiuni din Actul Unirii din 27 martie şi declară unirea necondiţionată a Basarabiei cu România-mamă".

(Actul Unirii Basarabiei cu România, 27 noiembrie 1918) [1]

„Războiul pentru care se cere să fim pedepsiţi este fapta firească a dezvoltării noastre naţionale. Oricare ar fi durerile şi încercările trecătoare, aşteptăm cu încredere consecinţele lui definitive şi cu mândrie judecata istoriei. Prin el, pentru prima oară în lumea modernă, am înfăţişat limpede şi cu jertfă de sânge am dobândit să fie

[1] The first two quotations were taken from *Basarabia în actul Marii Uniri de la 1918* (Bessarabia in the Act of the Great Union of 1918), ed. by I. Ţurcanu and M. Papuc, Chişinău, Ştiinţa, 2017; the following quotes are from *Cronica lumii româneşti 1914-1920* (Chronicle of the Romanian World, 1914-1920), vol. I (compiled by Dorina N. Rusu), Bucureşti, Academia Română, 2018.

recunoscut dreptul românilor la unitatea lor națională... Judecata noastră nu o va face decât conștiința națională când se va putea liber rosti și istoria care va dezvolta roadele binefăcătoare ale jertfelor de astăzi".

(I.C. Brătianu, 22 august 1918)

„Românii ardeleni și bucovineni, aflători pe teritoriul Regatului român, în numele nostru și al fraților subjugați de acasă, a căror conștiință e siluită și deci în imposibilitate de a se manifesta liber, declarăm cele ce urmează: 1. Cerem să fim liberați de sub jugul Monarhiei austro-ungare și suntem hotărâți să luptăm prin toate mijloacele și pe toate căile, ca întreg neamul românesc să fie constituit într-un singur stat național și liber, sub domnia dinastiei române. 2. Nu recunoaștem Monarhiei austro-ungare dreptul de a se ocupa de soarta românilor din Ardeal și Bucovina, deoarece veacuri de-a rândul ne-a ținut în cea mai rușinoasă robie. Toate încercările de federalizare ale Casei de Habsburg sunt gesturi disperate ale unei împărății osândite să se descompună și să piară. Soarta românilor din Austro-Ungaria s-a hotărât prin războiul Regatului Român și prin voința liberă a întregului popor românesc și o va consfinți Congresul de pace generală la care vor lua parte și reprezentanții oficiali ai României eliberatoare. 3. Cerem ca întreg teritoriul din Monarhia habsburgică revendicat de statul român, recunoscut și garantat prin tratatul de alianță încheiat de România cu puterile înțelegerii [la 4/17 august 1916], să fie liberat și unit cu patria mamă. 4. Toate declarațiile românilor din Ardeal și Bucovina, ce s-ar face împotriva acestor aspirațiuni naționale, le considerăm ca stoarse cu forța de autoritățile dușmane și aceste declarațiuni nu vor putea induce în eroare opinia lumii, care a proclamat principiile de dreptate și de libertate pentru toate neamurile asuprite".

(Comitetul național al românilor emigrați din Austro-Ungaria, Iași, 19 octombrie 1918)

„Vrem: să rămânem români pe pământul strămoșesc și să ne cârmuim singuri, precum o cer interesele noastre românești. Nu mai vrem: să cerșim de la nimeni drepturile care ni se cuvin, ci în schimbul jertfelor de sânge aduse în acest război – jertfe mai dureroase decât ale altor popoare. Pretindem: ca împreună cu frații noștri din Transilvania și Ungaria, cu care ne găsim în aceeași situație, să ne plăsmuim viitorul care ne convine nouă, în cadrul românismului. Cerem: să putem aduce la Congresul de pace aceste postulate ale noastre prin reprezentanții aleși de noi înșine din mijlocul națiunii noastre".

(*Ce vrem*, „Glasul Bucovinei", Cernăuți, 22 octombrie 1918)

„Reprezentanții poporului din Bucovina întruniți astăzi, în ziua de 27 octombrie 1918, în capitala Bucovinei, se declară în puterea suveranității naționale Constituantă a acestei țări românești. Constituanta hotărăște unirea Bucovinei integrale cu celelalte țări românești într-un stat național independent și va purcede spre acest scop în

deplină solidaritate cu românii din Transilvania şi Ungaria. Spre a conduce poporul român din Bucovina şi a apăra drepturile şi spre a stabili o legătură strânsă între toţi românii, Constituanta constituie un Consiliu Naţional de 50 de membri. Acest consiliu ne va reprezenta prin mandatari şi la Conferinţa de pace şi, în afară de el, nu recunoaştem nimănui dreptul de a hotărî sau trata asupra poporului român din Bucovina. Constituanta respinge cu hotărâre orice încercare ce ar duce la ştirbirea Bucovinei, doreşte însă să se înţeleagă cu popoarele conlocuitoare".

(Rezoluţia Adunării Constituante, Cernăuţi, 27 octombrie 1918)

„I. Adunarea Naţională a tuturor românilor din Transilvania, Banat şi Ţara Ungurească, adunaţi prin reprezentanţii lor îndreptăţiţi la Alba Iulia în ziua de 1 decembrie 1918, decretează unirea acelor români şi a tuturor teritoriilor locuite de dânşii cu România. Adunarea Naţională proclamă îndeosebi dreptul inalienabil al naţiunii române la întreg Bantul, cuprins între râurile Mureş, Tisa şi Dunăre.

II. Adunarea Naţională rezervă teritoriilor sus indicate autonomie provizorie până la întrunirea Constituantei, aleasă pe baza votului universal.

III. În legătură cu aceasta, ca principii fundamentale la alcătuirea noului stat român, Adunarea Naţională proclamă următoarele: 1. Deplina libertate naţională pentru toate popoarele conlocuitoare. Fiecare popor se va instrui, administra şi judeca în limba sa proprie prin indivizi din sânul său şi fiecare popor va primi drept de reprezentare în corpurile legiuitoare şi la guvernarea ţării în proporţie cu numărul indivizilor ce-l alcătuiesc. 2. Egală cu îndreptăţire şi deplină libertate autonomă confesională pentru toate confesiile de stat. 3. Înfăptuirea desăvârşită a unui regim curat democratic pe toate terenele vieţii publice. Votul obştesc, direct, egal, secret, pe comune, în mod proporţional, pentru ambele sexe, în vârstă de 21 de ani, reprezentarea în comune, judeţe ori parlament. 4. Desăvârşită libertate de presă, asociere şi întrunire; libera propagandă a tuturor gândirilor omeneşti. 5. Reforma agrară radicală. Se va face conscrierea tuturor proprietăţilor, în special a proprietăţilor mari. În baza acestei conscrieri, desfiinţând fideicomisiile în temeiul dreptului de-a micşora după trebuinţă latifundiile, i se face posibil ţăranului să-şi creeze o proprietate (arător, păşune, pădure) cel puţin atât cât să o poată munci el şi familia lui. Principiul conducător al acestei politici agrare este, pe de o parte, promovarea nivelării sociale, pe de altă parte, potenţarea producţiunii. 6. Muncitorimei industriale i se asigură aceleaşi drepturi şi avantagii care sunt legiferate în cele mai avansate state industriale din Apus.

IV. Adunarea Naţională dă expresiune dorinţei sale că congresul de pace să înfăptuiască comuniunea naţiunilor libere în aşa chip ca dreptatea şi libertatea să fie asigurate pentru toate naţiunile mari şi mici deopotrivă, iar în viitor să se elimineze războiul ca mijloc pentru regularea raporturilor internaţionale.

V. Românii adunaţi în aceasta Adunarea Naţională salută pe fraţii lor din Bucovina, scăpaţi din jugul Monarhiei austro-ungare şi uniţi cu ţara-mamă, România.

VI. Adunarea Națională salută cu iubire și entuziasm liberarea națiunilor subjugate până aci în Monarhia austro-ungară anume națiunile: ceho-slovacă, austro-germană, iugoslavă, polonă și ruteană și hotărăște ca acest salut al său să se aducă la cunoștința tuturor acelor națiuni.

VII. Adunarea Națională cu smerenie se înclină înaintea memoriei acelor bravi români, care în acest război și-au vărsat sângele pentru înfăptuirea idealului nostru, murind pentru libertatea și unitatea națiunii române.

VIII. Adunarea Națională dă expresiune mulțumitei și admirațiunii sale față de puterile aliate, care, prin strălucitele lupte purtate cu cerbicie împotriva unui dușman pregătit de multe decenii pentru război, au scăpat civilizațiunea din ghearele barbariei.

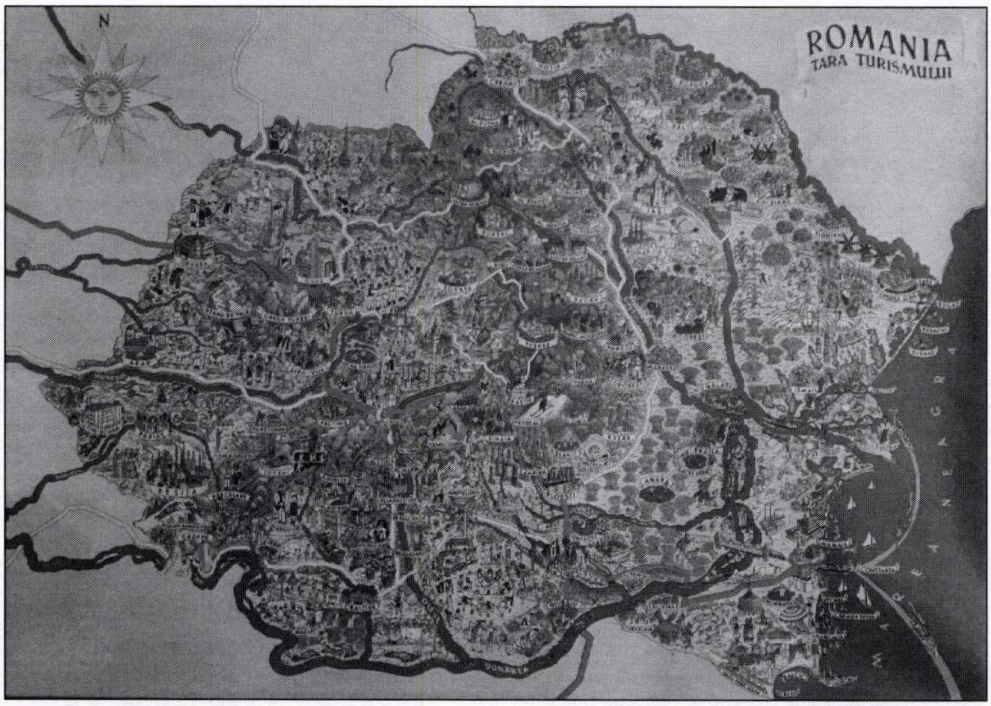
IX. Pentru conducerea mai departe a afacerilor națiunii române din Transilvania, Banat și Țara Ungurească, Adunarea Națională hotărăște instituirea unui Mare Sfat Național Român, care va avea toată îndreptățirea să reprezinte națiunea română, oricând și pretutindeni față de toate națiunile lumii și să ia toate dispozițiunile pe care le va afla necesare în interesul națiunii".

(Rezoluția Marii Adunări Naționale, Alba Iulia, 1 decembrie 1918)

„Ceea ce strămoșii au visat, ideea pentru care generațiile trecute au suferit și au lucrat, idealul pentru care toată suflarea românească a nădăjduit, iar ostașii noștri și-au vărsat sângele, azi a devenit un fapt împlinit. Azi mama România poate strânge pe toți copiii iarăși la sânul ei. Basarabia și Bucovina, cele două fiice răpite, s-au întors una după alta în casa părintească, iar Ardealul, frumosul leagăn al poporului român, de unde au descălecat întâii voievozi ai țărilor românești, a votat azi la Alba Iulia Unirea cu Regatul Român".

(Regele Ferdinand, București, 1 decembrie 1918)

King Ferdinand I (aug. 24, 1865 – july 20, 1927) and
Queen Maria (oct. 29, 1875 – july 18, 1938), Romania's leaders of 1914–1927



Greater Romania tourist map (1938).

VARIATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE JAPANESE RELIGIOUS FOLK BALLAD, *SANSHŌ-DAYŪ*, OR "PRINCESS ANJU AND PRINCE ZUSHIŌ" (3): RE-CREATION IN MODERN FICTION, FILM, AND CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

KEIKO WELLS

SYNOPSIS

The Japanese religious folk ballad, *Sanshō-Dayu* 『山椒大夫』 (*Sanshō, the Bailiff* or commonly known as *Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō*), is a combination of two legends, one of a young princess and another of her brother, a prince. The princess sacrifices her life for the prince, while he endures trials to become a man of status. It is a religious story, and describes the origins of the Kanayaki Jizō Bodhisattva statue. Older versions are miracle tales, in which the tortured princess dies and becomes a Bodhisattva, or Buddhist saint. Though no complete original text remains, it is said that the ballad appeared in the 14th century. It belongs to a genre called "sekkyō-bushi," which was sung and chanted by traveling singers, who were almost always visually impaired. Sekkyō-bushi became popular in medieval Japan and was passed down as a form of religiously-themed entertainment, especially in rural areas. During the 17th and 18th centuries, *Sanshō-Dayu* was arranged in folk drama forms such as "gidayu" (a chanted theatrical narrative) or "ningyō-jōruri" (puppet plays) and Kabuki (classical dance-and-music drama). The performance versions flourished especially in urban areas. After Japan opened cultural communication with the West in the late 19th century, the story incorporated new values and became part of modern culture. The most famous versions are a novella by MORI Ōgai (1915), and the classic film by MIZOGUCHI Kenji (1954). This paper examines the evolution of *Sanshō-Dayu*'s many variations, and analyzes commonalities and differences to clarify the story's history and legacy. The history of *Sanshō-Dayu* variations provides a fascinating case study of how a folk narrative can survive centuries, while evolving along with changes in society, economy and media. This paper consists of three sections: Part One, "The Narrative Tradition Kept by Visually Impaired People" (REF/JEF 1-2/2015: 5-27); Part Two, "The Theatrical Tradition in the Puppet Show and Kabuki" (REF/JEF 2/2017: 102-118); Part Three, "Re-Creation in Modern Fiction, Film and Children's Literature" (published hereby). All sections focus on how the heroine and hero are

REF/JEF (Bucharest) 1–2/2018: 44–67

depicted while using Buddhist folklore effectively for character development. The heroine, Anju, is a sacrificial lamb, a virgin mother to her brother Zushiō, and a symbol of compassion. Zushiō, an archetypal hero of a patriarchal feudal society, becomes an orphan, wanders in the wilderness, and finally finds restoration of his royal status by virtue of his courage and divine intervention. The narrative tradition emphasizes the more mythical story of Anju, while the theatrical tradition is more interested in the adventure and human drama of Zushiō's tale, depicting Anju a powerless human maiden tossed about by a masculine warrior society. Modern fiction and film re-create the tale while emphasizing themes of social equality. They bring the evils of slavery and social oppression to the fore, and propose philosophical solutions. Modern children's literature emphasizes the tribulations of sister and brother as well as their love and respect for their parents. In conclusion, after close examination of adaptations and changes in the *Sanshō-Dayu* ballad, this paper attempts to explore Japanese religious sentiments and gender value matrices as well as the nature of narrative traditions in Japan.

Keywords: Japanese literature, Japanese culture, Oral literature, Narrative performance, Religious narrative, Religious literature, Buddhist folklore, Visually impaired singers, Transformation of narrative text, Sanshō-Dayu, Sekkyō-bushi, Goze-uta, Itako-saimon, Ningyō-joruri, Kabuki, Mori Ōgai, Mizoguchi Kenji, Children's literature.

1. THE SURVIVING LEGEND AND THEME VARIATIONS

While jōruri and kabuki became popular entertainments among common people, the folktale and narrative tradition have kept their life as bedtime stories. The foremost folklorist of modern Japan, Kunio YANAGIDA, wrote about his experience of hearing the *Sanshō Dayū* (hereafter *SD*) story as a child.[1] In the 20th century, the influential novella by Ōgai MORI (1862-1922) and Kenji MIZOGUCHI's film *Sanshō the Bailiff* were created with the rich background of the *SD* cycle. Ōgai wrote a series of fiction using "historical" figures as protagonists. In this case he used the sekkyō-bushi story and modified it accordingly. MIZOGUCHI made his film expanding Ōgai's "Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō" story. Ōgai's and MIZOGUCHI's are the most prominent *SD* recreations of the 20th century. In addition, over 100 children's book versions of "Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō" have been published between 1920 and 2016, mostly adapted from Ōgai's story.[2] Only in the 1990s, on the other hand, was the medieval sekkyō-bushi narrative restored in children's literature.

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[1] Kunio YANAGIDA, "Sanshō Dayū Kō" 「山荘太夫考」 [A Study of *Sanshō Dayū*]. *Teihon Yanagida Kunio Syu* [Collection of the Writings of Kunio Yanagida] Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1962. First printed in the *Kyōdo-kenkyu* [Studies of Regions] vol. 3 no. 2 (1911): 65-84.

[2] See footnote # 18.

2. ŌGAI'S NOVELLA, *SANSHŌ-DAYŪ* (1915)

A VERY INFLUENTIAL STORY

In 1915, MORI Ōgai[3] published his novella *Sanshō-Dayū* in a literary magazine. It was a poignant story that touched Japanese sentiment deeply in the early 20th century. In it Anju drowns herself after pressing Zushiō to escape their enslavement. In his flight, Zushiō receives help from the Kokubunji Buddhist temple (provincial state temple) of Nakayama and there becomes a disciple of the head monk. Meanwhile Anju walks into a mountain spring pond and drowns. Zushiō, now a tonsured acolyte, is taken to Kyoto and stays overnight at the renowned Kiyomizu temple. There he is discovered to be the son of Lord Iwaki and recovers his princely status.

Ōgai's novella is the first modern retelling of the sekkyō-bushi narrative by an author who had a thorough knowledge of Western literature, reading it in the original languages. Ōgai was fluent in German because he studied medicine, first in Tokyo and later in Germany from 1884 to 1888. He was an army surgeon general as well as one of the preeminent writers of turn of the century Japan. In his essay, "Rekishi sono mana to rekishi banare" 「歴史其儘と歴史離れ」 ["History as It Is and History Ignored"] (1915), he summarizes the plot of the *SD* narrative he used and then describes the changes he made from the original. Ōgai, however, only points out changes of historical details and other superficial differences, leaving out the most important plot differences that reveal the themes of his novella. In other

[3] MORI Ōgai. (Public domain) Cited in: The Far-Eastern Culture Association, *Memories for 80 years of Modern Japan till 1926* (東洋文化協会『幕末・ 明治・ 大正回顧80 年史』).

words, he does not explain his interpretation of the original tale in order to preserve the reader's joy of reading. Ōgai makes four significant departures from the medieval narrative, but first let us review his summary of the story that he used as a base.

> Long ago in Mutsu there was a man called Iwaki Hangan Masauji. In the winter of the first year of Eihō [1081], he was exiled for some offense to a temple, the Anrakuji, in Tsukushi. His wife took their two children to live in the Shinobu district of Iwashiro. The daughter, who was the elder, was named Anju, and the son, Zushiō. Their mother waited until they were old enough, and then all three set out in search of the father. When they came to the bay of Naoe in Echigo and were sleeping beneath the Ōge bridge, a slave dealer named Yamaoka Tayū arrived and lured them aboard his boat. An old woman named Ubatake accompanied the mother and the children. Once Yamaoka had rowed them out into the open sea, he separated them and sold them to two boat captains. One, Sado no Jirō, bought the mother and Ubatake, then headed toward Sado. The other, Miyazaki no Saburō, bought the two children and went to Yura in Tango. The mother was delivered to Sado and set to chasing away birds from the millet[4]; Ubatake had drowned herself during the passage. After reaching Yura, Anju and Zushiō were sold to someone called Sanshō the Steward. The girl was made to draw seawater and the boy to gather brushwood. The children pined after their mother, and when they tried to run away, their foreheads were branded as punishment. The sister, who stayed behind so her brother could escape, was tortured and killed. The boy, aided by a monk from the provincial temple in Nakayama, went to Kyoto. At the temple of Kiyomizu, Zushiō met a nobleman named Umezuin. Since Umezuin was over seventy and without an heir, he had retired to the temple to pray, in the hope of being granted a son.
>
> Zushiō was adopted by Umezuin and concurrently was named governor of Mutsu and Tango. He traveled to Sado and escorted his mother back to Kyoto. He entered Tango and had Sanshō the Steward killed with a bamboo saw. Sanshō had three sons: Tarō, Jirō, and Saburō. The older two were spared for the compassion they had shown Zushiō; the youngest was killed for having joined his father in persecuting him. These are the outlines of the legend as I know it.
>
> Following this general account, I wrote my version according to my own imagination.[5]

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[4] [Note by Wells] Ōgai's summary is missing the following elements: Lady Iwaki (the mother) was sold into slavery and tried to escape, so she was tortured and had her Achilles tendons cut to prevent further attempts. She wept so much for her children that she lost her eyesight. Being lame and blind, the only work she could do was to chase away birds from millet.

[5] This is an English translation of the original taken from: "Rekishi sono mana to rekishi banare" 「歴史其儘と歴史離れ」 [History as It Is and History Ignored], *The Historical Fiction of Mori Ōgai*, 182-83.

SIGNIFICANT CHANGES BY ŌGAI

Ōgai eliminated the inhumanly cruel scenes from the story, which are a critical element of the traditional narrative as they clearly underscore the Bodhisattva miracle. The older the narrative is, more brutal and realistic are the violent details. The first change is in the scene of Anju's torture. In the sekkyō-bushi version, the brother and sister are beaten with a rod, and branded on the forehead with a cross, marking them as rebels. Gravely wounded, they are abandoned on the shore, imprisoned under an overturned boat and left to die. Jirō, the good second son of Sanshō-Dayū secretly brings food to them. Thanks to Jirō's kindness, they survive. Taken back to slavery, they desperately remember to ask their amulet Jizō (Bodhisattva icon) for help. Mysteriously, their scars disappear and, instead, the Jizō receives a burned cross mark between the brows. While the sekkyō-bushi tells us that both the cruel punishment and miraculous healing happened in reality, Ōgai's novella, on the other hand, describes the branding torture as if it were only in a dream. Anju and Zushiō dream the same dream at the same time. The scar, however, actually transfers to the face of the Jizō when they wake up. Ōgai softened the savagery of the torture by moving the episode to a dream and completely eliminated the scene in which the children are abandoned on the shore.

臥所の上に倒れた二人は、暫く死骸のように動かずにいたが、忽ち厨子王が「姉えさん、早くお地蔵様を」と叫んだ。安寿はすぐに起き直って、肌の守袋を取り出した。わななく手に紐を解いて、袋から出した仏像を枕元に据えた。二人は右左にぬかずいた。その時歯をくいしばってもこらえられぬ額の痛が掻き消すように失せた。掌で額を撫でて見れば、創は痕もなくなった。はっと思って、二人は目を醒ました。

二人の子供は起き直って夢の話をした。同じ夢を同じ時に見たのである。安寿は守本尊を取り出して、夢で据えたと同じように、枕元に据えた。二人はそれを伏し拝んで、微かな燈火の明りにすかして、地蔵尊の額を見た。白毫の右左に、鑿で掘ったような十文字の疵があざやかに見えた。[6]

They fell down on top of their bedding and for a time remained as motionless as two corpses. Then Zushiō called to his sister, "Take out to your statue of Jizō." Anju rose at once and took out the amulet case she kept inside her robe. With a trembling hand she untied the string and took out the little image, which she set up beside their beds. They prostrated themselves before it. Suddenly the unbearable pain seemed to melt away, to vanish. Rubbing their foreheads with their hands, they found no traces of the wounds. With a shock of surprise, the children woke up.

[6] MORI, Ōgai, *Sanshō Dayū,* 185-86.

> Anju and Zushiō sat up and talked over the experience: they both had had the same dream at the same time. Anju took out her Jizō amulet, looked at it and placed it by her bedside, just she had done in her dream. After they knelt and worshiped, they looked at the forehead of the statue in the dim light. On either side of the sacred white curl of the forehead of the statue, as if carved with a chisel, was a scar in the shape of a cross.[7]

The doctoral dissertation by LAI Yichen (Kyushu University, Japan)[8] points out that Ōgai took a hint of the above dream scene from the play *The Blue Bird* (*L'Oiseau bleu*, 1908) by Maurice Maeterlinck. A very popular European playwright in early 20th century Japan, Maeterlinck's major works began to be translated in 1902. Ōgai translated at least two of his plays in 1903 and 1909, and modified them to be kabuki (which meant "stage play" in the early 20s) scenarios.[9] He certainly knew *The Blue Bird*, the tale of a brother and a sister who explore an enchanted dream world in pursuit of happiness. While importing Christian stories from Europe, he might have modified Japanese literature to be less brutal and therefore more appropriate within the Westernization of Japanese culture.

As discussed in Part 1 of this essay, the sekkyō-bushi narrative is partially about Anju as martyr. Martyrdom entails violence, however. Since Ōgai eliminated violence from the plot, Anju is accordingly reduced from a sacred martyr to a strong willed mortal whose sacrifice is significant. This leads us to the second change in this modern telling, which is that Anju is not tortured to death but drowns herself instead. The most violent scene of the sekkyō-bushi narrative is of Anju's torture after Zushiō's escape. Ōgai excluded this second and more vicious torment of Anju, thereby substantially altering the plot. In the sekkyō-bushi version, Anju returns to the house of Sanshō-Dayū even though she knows that she will be tortured to death for helping her brother escape. In sacrificing her life, she buys time for her brother to flee farther. She also begs that her tormentors spread word that she has died to save her brother and, consequently, their family line. This moving scene is the pivotal climax of the medieval narrative, sanctifying Anju as a sort of sacrificial lamb. Ōgai, on the other hand, omits Anju's reincarnation legend. He only suggests that her insight is unarguable, nearly divine. When Zushiō finally agrees to her plan that he run away alone to the temple in Nakayama, he says, "Yes, Sister. Your words today sound like those of a god or a Buddha. I have

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[7] "Sanshō Dayū," *The Historical Fiction of Mori Ōgai*, 168.

[8] Yichen, Lai. The abstract of his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Kyushu University, 「宮沢賢-治文学におけるヴァージョンの生成」[The Formation of Variations in the Works of MIYAZAWA Kenji]. http://catalog.lib.kyushu-u.ac.jp/handle/2324/1522371/scs0248_abstract.pdf (2016/08/13).

[9] Ōgai was one of the leading intellectuals of Meiji (1868-1912) and Taisho (1912-1926) era writers.

decided. I shall obey you."[10]

(「そうですね。姉えさんのきょう仰や る事は、まるで神様か仏様が仰やるようです。わたしは考を極めました。なん でも姉えさんの仰やる通にします」)[11]

Here, Anju is nearly as strong, wise and compassionate as a Buddha but is still a human being; she cannot be worshipped because she kills herself.

Ōgai categorizes this story as a historical novel in his essay, "History as It is, and History Ignored," and claims he freely let himself imagine a "dream-like" drama after studying the original legend. Ōgai's most significant original scene to later influence Japanese literature is that of Anju's death. He omitted the lurid torture scene, since Anju does not return to Sanshō Dayū's house. Instead, she dies a serene, suggestive, and even beautiful death. Anju drowns herself in a mountain swamp, but it is not explicitly stated. She disappears from the plot like a spirit in a dream.

> 安寿は泉の畔に立って、並木の末に隠れては又現れる後影を小さくなるまで見送った。そして日は漸く午に近づくのに、山に登ろうともしない。幸にきょうはこの方角の山で木を樵る人がないと見えて、坂道に立って時を過ごす安寿を見咎めるものもなかった。
>
> 後に同胞を探しに出た、山椒大夫一家の討手が、この坂の下の沼の端で、小さい藁履を一足拾った。それは安寿の履であった。[12]

> Anju stood by the spring and watched the figure of her brother grow smaller as he appeared then disappeared behind rows of pine trees. The sun was almost at its highest point, yet she made no effort to climb the mountain again. Fortunately there seemed no other woodcutters at work nearby, so no one questioned Anju, who stood idling away her time at the foot of the mountain path.
>
> Later the search party sent out by Sanshō to catch the pair picked up a pair of small straw sandals at the edge of the swamp at the bottom of the hill. They belonged to Anju.[13]

For the third change, Ōgai shortened Zushiō's travails by eliminating his brutal ordeals. In the sekkyō-bushi, Zushiō was almost dead from hunger and so weak he could only be carried from temple to temple by merciful peasants. This

[10] Buddha in Japanese folk religion is indivisible from saved souls of ancestors, thus "a Buddha". Unlike Christian God, Gautama Buddha is a principal sacred sage but not a monotheistic deity.

[11] Ōgai, 195.

[12] Ōgai, 196-97.

[13] "Sanshō Dayū," *The Historical Fiction of Mori Ōgai*, 173-74.

implies a worldly death of the hero or a journey through the most ignoble stratum of medieval society. He barely reaches Kyoto and, only after divine intervention, is revealed to be a noble prince. In the sekkyō-bushi tale, therefore, Zushiō had to suffer the wretched existence of a crippled beggar. Contrary to all of this, in Ōgai's novella Zushiō merely shaves his head and becomes a novitiate monk. This only symbolizes his death in the secular world and does not reflect the vicious life of medieval slaves.

Ōgai's fourth and most radical creation is that Zushiō liberates the slaves. After his amulet Jizō guides him to worldly success, Zushiō is appointed a provincial governor and restores his father's honor. Taking this chance, he emancipates all of the slaves in his domain. As Zushiō now governs Sanshō Dayū's property, the slave master must comply. Consequently, Sanshō Dayū's slaves become paid laborers, and, according to Ōgai's story, produce more and better crops for him. The now former slave-owner Sanshō Dayū is happy, the story goes, and he becomes a good person. Ōgai's story does not include Sanshō Dayū's slow and cruel execution. It celebrates, instead, the esthetics that Anju's sacrifice resulted in the redemption of human cruelty. This social as well as melodramatic resolution of tragedy with no retribution and no real repentance from Sanshō Dayū is contextually abrupt and perhaps even too optimistic.

If this idealistic resolution can be considered another phase of a "dream like tale," then so is the story's ending. Zushiō finds his mother in a village of Sado; the former Lady Iwaki is now a poor blind woman in tatters. He recognizes the song that she is singing to herself, and rushes toward her. As he prays to the amulet Jizō, she miraculously recovers her eyesight. The tribulations of the mother and son have been a bad dream, so to speak, and Ōgai closes the story with a fairy-tale-like happy and symbolic ending.

> 女は雀では無い、大きいものが粟をあらしに来たのを知った。そしていつもの詞を唱え罷めて、見えぬ目でじっと前をみた。その時干した貝が水にほとびるように、両方の目に潤いが出た。女は目が開いた。
> 「厨子王」と云う叫が女の口から出た。二人はぴったり抱き合った。[14]

> The woman realized that something bigger than a sparrow had come storming into the millet. She stopped her endless song and stared ahead of her with her blind eyes. Then, like dried seashells swelling open in water, her eyes began to moisten and to open.
> "Zushiō!" she called out. They rushed into each other's arms.[15]

[14] Ōgai, 204.
[15] "Sanshō Dayū," *The Historical Fiction of Mori Ōgai*, 178.

3. MIZOGUCHI'S FILM, *SANSHŌ THE BAILIFF* (*SANSHŌ DAYŪ*), 1954

ZUSHIŌ'S TRIUMPH AND WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

In 1954, about a decade after the end of World War II, MIZOGUCHI Kenji (1898-1956) made his internationally renowned black and white film, *Sanshō the Bailiff* [Sanshō Dayū],[16] based on Ōgai's novella. Of his films, this was the third to receive an award at the Venice International Film Festival, winning the Silver Lion Award. The previous two were *The Life of Oharu* [Saikaku Ichidai Onna] (1952), and *Ugetsu* [Ugetsu Monogatari] (1953).

The main plot of *Sanshō the Bailiff* is a humanistic story in which Zushiō is the protagonist. Hoping to make his life in captivity easier, he adopts a self-serving and pragmatic attitude, but becomes callous and unforgiving in the process. In the first half of the film, Zushiō loses the idealism he was taught by his father: "Without mercy, man is like beast"; "Men are created equal. Everyone is entitled to happiness." The film graphically shows brutal branding scenes twice and Zushiō even brands his fellow slave who had attempted escape. He does so without a moment of hesitation, obeying the orders of his master, Sanshō Dayū. Anju, on the other hand, remembers her father's teaching and grieves deeply the change in her brother. In the middle of the story she convinces him to escape and then drowns herself in a lake. Even though he is unaware of his sister's death, Zushiō begins to change, ultimately recovering his status and idealism so that he can dismantle the exploitative structure of slavery.

While the main plot of the film is about Zushiō, the side plot is about women. There is a wicked priestess who accommodates the family for the night in the beginning of the movie, cheating them and selling them into slavery. In the sekkyō-bushi, it is a male trader who betrays the family. Mizoguchi changed this man to a wicked priestess, demonstrating distrust of Shintoism while creating a character foil for the naive and innocent mother of the children, Tamaki (the Lady Iwaki of

16 Poster of the Japanese film, *Sanshō the Bailiff* [*Sanshō Dayū*].

other versions). Except for the priestess, all of the other female characters are victims in one way or another. The first is Anju, Zushiō's younger sister (rather than older, as in previous versions). She is the one who never forgets what their father taught them. She is merciful and sacrifices her life to help her brother escape, insisting he take a sick female slave with him as well. Tamaki, the mother, is another victim, too naive to recognize the evil of the world until she is sold into prostitution. Longing for her children, she tries several escapes and is crippled by her owner to prevent further attempts. In the final scene, she is discovered by Zushiō and is rescued from the evils of society. The now old woman, who is faithful to Bodhisattva, stands in sharp contrast to the villainous priestess, also an elderly woman. Several additional female characters in the film help each other even in their misery, and being slaves are also clearly victims of societal ills.

Mizoguchi was passionate about expressing the misery of socially oppressed people, especially women, as realistically as possible. In his earlier film, *Women of the Night* [Yoru no Onnatachi] (1948), he effectively spotlighted the downfall of three sisters living in the economic and moral confusion of post-WWII Japan. TANAKA Kinuyo brilliantly portrays the unchanged love and compassion of the eldest sister, once a faithful wife but forced to become a prostitute who contracts syphilis. She exacts "vengeance" upon a patriarchal society by "selling sex and spreading disease." While she lives a self-destructive life, she still risks death to save her younger sisters from corruption. In *Sanshō the Bailiff* Tanaka again depicts the ruination of a woman, this time Tamaki, the mother of Anju and Zushiō. At the beginning of the film she is a naive aristocrat, and by the end she has lost her family, status, chastity, youth, and faith in humanity. Even so, when she cherishes the Jizō amulet that Zushiō has carried as a family heirloom, she expresses the noble nature of motherhood by showing her faith in Bodhisattva and maternal love for her son. Once again, Tanaka's portrayal of this transformation is a masterful one.

MIZOGUCHI'S CRITICISM ON ŌGAI'S FICTION

There are two important differences between Mizoguchi's film and Ōgai's novella. First, Mizoguchi realistically depicts the misery of slavery, while Ōgai glosses over it and ends with a fairytale-like happy ending. Second, the film is skeptical of Ōgai's representation of an overnight abolition of slavery. In the novella Zushiō proclaims emancipation in his domain, and Sanshō Dayū immediately grants his slaves freedom, finding that they work harder as freedmen. This is too unrealistic for Mizoguchi, implausible conduct for a new governor in medieval Japan. Thus in his film, Zushiō liberates the slaves only through sacrifice of his position, as he is disrupting the status quo. By the end of the film he is a commoner and lives with his elderly mother. There is no miracle of Jizō in the Mizoguchi's scenario, and the mother remains blind. This replacement of supernatural plot elements with a more realistic storyline reflects Mizoguchi's social views and unvarnished observation of society.

Mizoguchi states clearly in an essay from March of 1954 that Ōgai's *Sanshō Dayū* is "lukewarm" and "religiously didactic," even though he does value Ōgai's "humanism expressed in his historical stories." Mizoguchi is especially critical of Ōgai's resolution of a social problem with a religious moral, and observes that the young people of postwar Japan could no longer relate to Buddhist mysticism.[17] He writes,

> 私は鷗外が真に描こうと考えていたであろう原作の精神を汲み、物語の筋を合理的なものになおし、歴史的に深く突っ込んで描いて見ようと思った。意図するところは個人の人種の問題である。それをこの原作に仮託して冷静に描いてみたいと思うのである。[18]

> I thought I would interpret faithfully what Ōgai really meant to express in his work, give the story a more rational plot, and describe details from a more historically accurate viewpoint. My intention is to describe the human issues involved. I would like to do so in a cool, objective manner.[19]

One of Mizoguchi's departures from Ōgai's novella to make the story more "rational" is how Zushiō's noble identity is revealed. In Ōgai's adaptation of the sekkyō-bushi, it is discovered by Morozane, the Chief Adviser to the Emperor, via a divine message in a dream.

> He [Zushiō] slept in a special hall set aside for those who wished to retire for religious devotions. When he awoke the next morning, he saw by his bedside an elderly man, dressed in an old-style court costume. "Whose son are you?" said the old man. "If you have anything precious with you, kindly show it to me. I have been in seclusion here since yesterday evening, praying for the recovery of my daughter, who is ill. In a dream I was granted a revelation. I was told that the boy sleeping behind the lattice at my left possessed a wonderful amulet. I was to borrow it and pray to the image. When I came to look this morning, I found you. Please tell me who you are and lend me the amulet. I am Morozane, the Chief Advisor to the Emperor." "Sir, I am the son of Mutsu no jō Masauji," Zushiō told him.[20]

Mizoguchi eliminates the divine revelation and instead has Zushiō go directly to Morozane for petition, and in spite of his ragged appearance of a fugitive slave, reveals his noble background. While this scenario is also unlikely for Medieval Japan, it is at least not a supernatural miracle.

In the above quotation, Mizoguchi says he wishes "to describe the human issues." He is referring to a necessary examination of the inequities of medieval Japanese society, and by extension, the hierarchical power structures embedded in

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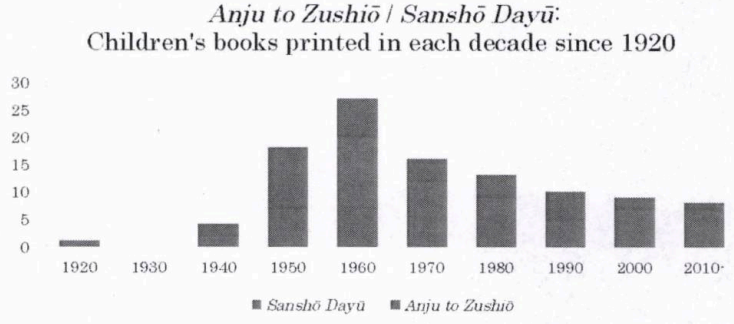
[17] Kenji MIZOGUCHI, *The Complete Writings of Kenji Mizoguchi 1923-1956*, 373.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Translation by Keiko Wells.
[20] "Sanshō the Steward." *The Historical Fiction of Mori Ōgai*, 176.

traditional Japanese values. The Father's teaching to his children, "Men are created equal. Everyone is entitled to their happiness," reflects the egalitarian ideals of democracy, which were transplanted to Japanese soil by the Allied Occupation. But Mizoguchi's *Sanshō Dayū* is not propaganda. Rather, it is a human drama about individual nobility that cannot be subjugated, not even by the misery of poverty and the evils of human bondage. Here, *Sanshō Dayū* is no longer a story of Buddhist salvation. This film was shown in 1954, nine years after the end of WWII. The Japanese people had experienced years of oppression by the previous military regime, severe hunger and poverty, the treachery of government-controlled religion, and the sudden destruction of life by forces far beyond their control. *Sanshō the Bailiff* symbolically represents the experiences of the Japanese people during the series of modern wars that had lasted for 15 years until 1945. Zushiō, who survives the confusion of life and finds his own way to personal victory, represents the ideal future of Japan. His mother, on the other hand, represents the remaining good part of Japan: i.e. mercy and love despite the unprecedented destruction of war.

4. CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Sanshō Dayū is known in children's literature by the title *Anju and Zushiō* or *Anju-hime and Zushiō-maru*, and was very popular tale, especially in the mid 20th century.[21] Numerous books and animated films retell *Sanshō Dayū*, and they have all been based on Ōgai's version since it was published for children in the 1924 book, *Nihon Densetsu* [Japanese Legends], the second volume of the *Otogi-banashi*

[21] It was especially popular in the 50s, 60s, and early 70s, when Japanese folktales were a common source of children's literature.



(Research and chart by Yuka KOIZUMI, 2016)

The chart above is based on a title search of Japan's National Diet Library catalog. Stories contained within an anthology not titled either *Anju to Zushiō* or *Sanshō Dayū* are unlikely turn up in such a search. For example, Ōgai's *Sanshō Dayū* was retold and reprinted in 1936 when Yuzo YAMAMOTO included it in *Nihon Meisaku-sen* [*A Selection of Japanese Masterpieces*], the 16th volume of *Nihon Shōkokumin Bunko* [Reader for Young Japanese People] series, but this book is not reflected in the above chart. Therefore it is probable that there have been even more versions of Ōgai's *Sanshō Dayū* in children's books than is reflected above.

Bunko [Bedtime Stories] series. In my research the only exception is a picture book adapted from the medieval religious narrative, published in 1994. Until then, the most common story line in children's versions of *Anju and Zushiō* diverges notably from Ōgai's story in that Anju survives in Sanshō Dayū's enslavement after her brother escapes. Zushiō saves her from captivity when he regains his royal status, and they go meet their mother together. As Anju does not function importantly in the children's story except for encouraging Zushiō to escape, the story is focused on Zushiō's heroic development, teaching children that evil (Sanshō and Saburō) will justly be punished at the end. *Anju and Zushiō* spotlights love and benevolence among family, as well as filial loyalty, in contrast to evils such as slavery.

EARLY 20TH CENTURY: EDUCATIONAL AND ROMANTIC ADAPTATIONS

About the time of the Meiji revolution in 1868, Japan rushed to import European thought and literature, funding the endeavors of intellectuals educated in foreign languages and culture. Accordingly, children's literature after the revolution aimed to raise good citizens fit for a new, westernized society. Until the early 20th century, the bulk of children's reading materials had been cheaply made popular books without authorship, woodprint books called "aka-hon"[22] and "chirimen-bon." In order to distribute high quality children's literature, children's magazines and books with stories and illustrations began to be published, such as: 『お伽絵解こども』 *Otogi Ekai Kodomo* (1904), 『幼年画報』 *Yōnengahō* (1906-1935) and 『日本一ノ画伽』 *Nihon ichi no Ebanashi* (1911-1915). One magazine, 『子供之友』 *Kodomo no Tomo* (1914-1943), lasted for nearly 30 years before ceasing publication due to the paper shortages of WWII.

Along with the above educational movement, writers including Ōgai vigorously

22 Front pages of aka-hon. The Center for International Children's Literature, Osaka Prefectural Central Library, "Special Exhibit: A Legend in the Manga World in the Western Japan" 「関西マンガ界の伝説 酒井七馬とその時代」資料展示【解説】 https://www.library.pref.osaka.jp/ site/jibunkan/sakai2.html (2017/08/14).

published adaptations of myths, legends and folktales to renew Japanese identity, which was overturned at the time of Meiji Restoration (1853-1877). The new literary movement in Japan was influenced by European Romanticism, especially by the Romantic Nationalism of folktale collectors such as the Brothers Grimm and by creative adaptations of folktales by, for example, Hans Christian Andersen and Oscar Wilde. Writers in Japan created new children's stories and songs in the style of Romantic period European children's literature, with the idea of the "innocent child." They translated major European fairytales and introduced them to a Japanese audience which, after centuries of feudal administration, was thirsty for the new currents of the West.

Romantic poets and authors were also conscious of voice and melody, so *SD* naturally found its way into children's music as well. A good example from this period was KITAHARA Hakushū, who wrote songs based on *Sanshō Dayū*. Hakushū was the leading children's author and songwriter, and also an outstanding *tanka* (short verse) poet whose writings were lyrical and rhythmic. He was interested in Japanese folksongs and collected lyrics in volumes. His songs, "Anju to Zushiō" ("Anju and Zushiō") and "Suzume Oi" ("Chasing Sparrows Away") are a set of songs[23] which take their subject from *Sanshō Dayū*. "Anju and Zushiō" describes the misfortune of sister and brother and how they missed their mother while slaves in Tango. The second song, "Chasing Sparrows Away" describes Lady Iwaki's misery, incorporating the song she sings, "I miss Anju, ho-yare-ho, I miss Zushiō, ho-yare-ho." Hakushū focuses on the emotion of longing between the separated children and mother, highlighting familial love and unity.

KODANSHA PICTURE BOOKS: 1958 and 2002

In 1936, the Kodansha publishing company started a children's picture book series, *Kodansha no Ehon* 「講談社の絵本」. Major storywriters and illustrators of the era contributed to this series, which continues to be published to the present

[23] KITAHARA Hakushū, 「安壽と厨子王」「雀追ひ」"Anju and Zushiō" and "Chasing Sparrows Away," 『赤い鳥』 *Akai Tori* [Red Birds] 12.3 (1924): 4-5, 76-77. Only the lyrics are cited in the magazine, without a musical score. The front page of *Akai Tori*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1924):

day. In the *Anju and Zushiō* of this series, there is no death involved; namely, Anju neither is tortured to death nor drowns herself, and Zushiō arrests Sanshō Dayū and Saburō after recovering his status, but does not execute them. Zushiō is the protagonist, who grows up in spite of his misfortune, and returns to his family as a hero.

The writer of a version from 1958, Kiichiro YAMATE, writes that the theme of his story is to praise children's patience in misfortune and to make the adults aware of eliminating social evils such as slavery:

> 人買いの非劇 [ママ] は形こそ変わっているが、今もある。むしろ今の方がもっとひどいかもしれない。人買稼業は法のうらをくぐり、人の弱点をうまくついてやることだからこれに乗せられるのはたいてい親、家庭の油断からだといっても、けっしていいすぎではないと思う。
>
> 筆者は、ここで安寿と厨子王の親たちの責任をうんぬんしようとは思わないが、この話はそういう人買いの不幸に出あった安寿、厨子王の姉弟が、どんな苦労にも負けずに、よく助けあって、後には、その母親まで探しだし、もとの幸福を取り戻した、その子どもたちのおおしさをたたえると同時に、こういう悲しいことが、世の中からなくなるように、子どもの親たちに良識を持ってもらいたい、それがこの物語のねらいではないかと思う。[24]

> Tragic cases of slave trade still exist, though the circumstances may be different from those of the medieval era. It could be said that the reality is even more cruel now than then. Slave traders work beyond the reach of the law and ruthlessly take advantage of vulnerable people, catching families when they are off guard.
> I don't intend to criticize the parents of Anju and Zushiō, but I believe one of the themes of this story is to warn adults so that they can prevent such tragedies and eliminate the evils of slavery from society. The other theme is, obviously, to praise Anju and Zushiō, who persevered through the hardships of slavery, assisted each other, found their mother, and restored the happiness of their family.[25]

[24] Kiichiro YAMATE, *Anju to Zushiō* [Anju and Zushiō], *Kodansha no Ehon*, Gold Series [Kodansha Picture Book "Gold" Series, 10] 1958, author's preface. The "Gold" series was published in 1958 and 1959.

[25] English translation by Wells.

Japan had been engaged in war since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, through the turmoil of Imperial era, until losing WWII in 1945. The country was miserably poor in the 1940s and early 1950s. The new government was inexperienced and there were numerous orphans and homeless children in the cities. I believe that the simple hero tale of Zushiō was encouraging to people with painful memories from those years. At the same time, this children's version was, so to speak, whitewashed, lacking the profound insight into violence and human nature that the original story communicated above other themes and motives.

A version in the "New" series of *Kodansha no Ehon,* published in 2002[26] has a slightly changed plot from the version of 1957. The older version by YAMATE does not contain any violence or death, but the newer one by Mikio CHIBA has restored the scene of Saburō beating the children with a rod. The children ask the amulet Buddha for help and are miraculously freed from pain. In bringing back this element, the story retains some of the original themes of human cruelty and Buddhist mysticism, even though Anju survives the slavery. What is most notable about this version is that Toru TUNEMITSU, a leading folklorist of contemporary Japan, introduces the sekkyō-bushi source in the "Afterword" for adults, and points out three plot differences: (1) Anju is burned to death after Zushiō's escape, (2) Zushiō brutally executes Sanshō Dayū and Saburō in retribution for their cruel treatment of his sister, and (3) Lady Iwaki is sold to Ezo (Eastern Japan) in versions prior to 1667, instead of Sado Island as in later versions. Tunemitsu also informs us that Lady Iwaki's song pining for her children is still orally transmitted in Sado. In this newer Kodansha version, therefore, the reader can recognize the author's respect for the original orally transmitted tale and the idea that ignoring or concealing violence is not the best way to teach children about life and society.

26 Mikio CHIBA, retold and structured by. Shigeru SUDO, illustrated by. *Anju-hime to Zushiō-maru* 『安寿姫と厨子王丸』 (*Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō*). *Shin Kodansha no Ehon* (*New Series of Kodansha Illustrated Books*) vol. 12, 2016.

ANIMATED FILM, 1961

Anju to Zushiō-maru: The Orphan Brother[27] (Anju and Zushiō-maru) is an animated film released by Tōei in 1961 to celebrate its 10th anniversary. The story by Sumie TANAKA had been published as a serial in the *Yomiuri Shōnen Shōjo Shinbun* (*Yomiuri Newspaper for Young Boys and Girls*). Characteristic of this film is that Anju is reminiscent of Snow White from Disney's classic film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). There are more than a few similarities. For example, she is much loved by the animals of the forest, who are loyal friends and vassals to her and Zushiō.[28] Also, like Snow White, she can speak with animals.[29] Anju also sings, as in the Disney film. Saburō loves her and protects her

[27] The English translation title is listed on Tōei Company Ltd. Database. http://pf.toei.co.jp/database/detail.cfm?PG_CODE=TDB00016 (2016/08/25).

28 A scene from *Anju to Zushiō-maru*. Tōei HP database (2016/08/25).

29 A scene from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. http://parentpreviews.com/movie-reviews/ film-info/snow-white-and-the-seven-dwarfs (2016/08/24).

much like a prince of many Disney fairytales. Even though Anju is not the idealized wife and mother-to-be as Snow White is, she still represents innocence and compassion in harmony with nature.

The Tōei film handles death and Buddhism differently from any other *SD* cycle works. Important characters die but become spirits that protect the living. When Ubatake, the Lady Iwaki's loyal maid (named "Kikuno" in this film) falls into the sea from the slave ship and drowns, she becomes a mermaid. As a mermaid, Kikuno creates a whirlpool that swallows up the ship, killing the slave traders in retribution. She becomes the children's guardian in the seas. Anju similarly becomes a guardian spirit. After Zushiō escapes, she returns to slavery and is imprisoned. Jirō tries to brand her, but she narrowly escapes with Saburō's help. Realizing there is no place safe for her, Anju drowns herself in a pond. But to the surprise of *SD* readers, she rises from the water as a sparkling white bird and disappears into the sky. Henceforth she watches over Zushiō's safety from above. In one instance, she causes a storm to destroy the Sanshō Dayū's mansion and crops; in another, she guides Zushiō when he travels to Kyoto. In this way Kikuno and Anju are much like the protective spirit of Cinderella's mother in the Grimm's tale (KHM 21).

With regard to Buddhism, the Tōei film makes no reference to the Jizō amulet nor to Anju becoming a Kannon (bodhisattva). On the other hand, Saburō, a merciful man in contrast to the wicked Jirō, becomes a Buddhist monk after Anju's death and carves a wooden statue in her memory. It is made in her likeness and evokes the Virgin Mary of Catholic Churches more than a Kannon of Buddhist temples. Kannon is an abstract figure visualizing the concept of universal compassion, is neither male nor female, and consequently cannot resemble any individual person.

In sum, the Tōei animated film of 1961 significantly imported new Western imagery to *SD* and Japanese children's entertainment as a whole, such as mermaids, a bird-spirit/phoenix, friendly animals, and chaste romantic love (Anju and Saburō; Zushiō-maru and Aya-hime[30]). By the end of 1960s, Tōei produced many more successful animated children's films with sophisticated storylines and imagery reflecting Westernized Japanese culture. In a certain sense these films indicated the evolution of a new Japanese culture; they were informed by careful study of Western culture, adjusted for Japanese sensibilities, without losing originality. *Gegege no Kitaro* (1968) (*Kitaro*, in English) is one of the works from this period. It was after the 1980s when Tōei animation really captured the attention of the world. The *Dragon Ball* series (1986~), *Sailor Moon* series (1992~), *One Piece* series (1999~) and the *Precure* (*Pretty Cure*) series (2004~) are some of the most beloved examples.[31] As international recognition of Japanese culture increased dramatically in the late 20th century, Japanese people began to gain a

[30] Aya-hime (Princess Aya) is a daughter of Morozane, the chancellor to the emperor, who helps Zushiō to regain his honor and royal status.

[31] For a history of Tōei and list of their works, please see: http://www.toei.co.jp/annai/brand/anime/history.html#year02 (2016/08/24).

new respect for their traditions and stories. The *Sanshō Dayū* story was certainly a part of those traditions that they wished to recover in their original form.

A PICTURE BOOK TO TRANSMIT THE ORAL TRADITION: 1994

Anju and Zushiō, published in 1994 by the Dohō Shuppan in Kyoto, was the first children's picture book based on the oral tradition narrative, sekkyō-bushi. The series, *Kyo no Rekishi Ehon* [Historical Picture Books of Kyoto] was planned to celebrate the 1200th anniversary of the relocation of the capital to Kyoto. One of the two supervisors was Takeshi UMEHARA, a philosopher and an extensive writer on Japanese history, religion and literature, who wrote *Lotus and Other Tales of Medieval Japan*, *The Concept of Hell*, and many other philosophical essays, especially about medieval plays and narratives. The other supervisor was Masaaki UEDA, a scholar of ancient Japanese history.

Yasuaki HORI's cover illustration for the book conveys important elements of the original story. The front portrays an enslaved Anju alone at work, hauling seawater for the production of salt.[32] Her prominence shows clearly that she is the primary figure of the story. On the back, Zushiō is seen collecting firewood from the forest,[33] so that

32 The front cover. *Anju and Zushiō*, Taimei HORI (literature), Tadaaki MORI (illustration), Kyoto: Dohosha-shuppan, 1994.

33 The back cover. *Anju and Zushiō*, 1994.

we know he is the second important character of the story. The two are separated between the front and back covers, symbolically representing their separate destinies. The inside cover depicts a portable Buddha, the amulet and family treasure.[34] So we see Anju, Zushiō, and the Buddha amulet are the three most important elements of the story.

This is a bilingual book, and both the Japanese and English are terse, with a clipped rhythm, reinforcing the underlying tension. Here is the branding scene:

> Saburō stood listening in the darkness, then went to tell his father. The children were dragged before Sanshō Dayū, who glared at them, ordering his son [Saburō] --- *Brand their heads, that we might find them if they run.* Saburō's helpers pinned the struggling children and he brought forth a red hot iron. After it was done, Anju spoke boldly to her tormentors --- *Let me work with my brother.* The Dayū replied --- *The mountain is a man's place. If you must go, cut off that hair and go as a boy.*[35]

And here is Anju's death:

> *Where is Wasure-gusa* [Zushiō]? --- Sanshō Dayū demanded, then he and Saburō tortured Anju, using scalding water and fire. Anju died --- she was just sixteen. The Dayū set off with 85 men, following Zushiō's tracks in the snow.[36]

5. CONCLUSION

After surveying the changes in the *Sanshō Dayū* cycle, we can ask, what makes this tale survive for 800 years? The ballad contains several basic types of themes that can appeal to different groups of people of different times: mythical and folk religious themes, themes of human nature, and themes of societal conflict.

[34] The inside cover. *Anju and Zushiō*, 1994.

[35] *Anju and Zushiō* (1994): 15.

[36] *Anju and Zushiō* (1994): 20.

Sanshō Dayū deals with human cruelty and social injustice, love and sacrifice, weakness and strength of the human spirit. Variations in the *Sanshō Dayū* narrative mirror the values of the era and the interests of the audience.

It is important to note that while *SD* was certainly an oral tradition, it has been very much influenced by written texts. Walter J. Ong has summarized the scholarly interests of oral culture since the time of Romanticism in the 18th century. He points out that scholars have looked at the development of oral traditions and communication only in one direction, i.e. oral media to printed media, and he further directs our attention to digital media. This line of argument for Western scholars, however, does not quite apply to Japanese literature. In Japan, oral literature has developed alongside written literature, in mutual influence. Oral traditions, such as Buddhist chanting and puppet play narratives for example, are as respected and enjoyed as books and novels, though existing in different cultural contexts.

Balladeers, or at least their leaders, could read and write, though perhaps not sufficiently to handle bureaucratic documents. Wood printed texts of songs and narratives were widespread and people enjoyed oral presentations of the text. Literature for entertainment was, so to say, a vocally performed art based on written texts. The religious chanting of *Sanshō Dayū* is the best example. The oldest surviving text is from the 17th century, recorded presumably after centuries of oral transmission, and the chanting tradition by blind singers stayed pretty much alive until the mid 20th century. Being blind, they were not literate but memorized the major part of the stories. The puppet play narratives were based on the oral narratives and the text was printed. Performed with the human voice, the story was simplified in the audience's memory, with further oral transmission making for more variations. What is very particular to Japanese written texts of oral traditions is that people considered the written documents to be sacred. The texts were a kind of scripture to the family or the school of professional performers. Copies were closely guarded and outsiders could only enjoy the performance. One could only access the text by officially joining the troupe, though these customs became less restrictive in later years.

Both the performance and the written text of *Sanshō Dayū* were the body and soul of the art. *Sanshō Dayū* has been recreated again and again in different media while the theme and messages have been reshaped according to the audience. The touchstone of the thematic variations is the destiny of Anju. In medieval versions of the religious narratives she is tortured to death and worshipped as a Bodhisattva for her supernatural patience and compassion. In the early modern theatrical narratives and kabuki plays she is a weaker character who saves her brother's life, and an alternate female character takes over the main tragic role of a passionate woman. In modern fiction, film and children's literature she is a virtuous woman who represents human compassion. And finally, in its most recent iterations, she is

a maiden of noble virtue who sacrifices her life for her brother and family, offering herself as a victim of brutal violence.

Why, then, is Anju so important? Anju is comparable to Psyche in Western mythology. She embodies superhuman compassion, patience and motherly love. She makes man's life perfect by suffering tremendous hardship. She evolves from demi-goddess to a loving woman, depending on the audiences' interpretation. What remains constant is that she, as the embodiment of absolute compassion, is a crucial beacon for humanity in the face of violence and oppression. Perhaps this suggests that a sacrificial savior figure in Japan would need to be female. It certainly could relate to the fact that Japanese culture was traditionally matriarchal, especially in the emotional realm, even during the feudal era. I hope to explore this intriguing question when I next have the opportunity.[37]

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[37] This work (Part 1–Part 3) was supported by the grant given to the 2015-17 research project "The Dynamic Phases of Vernacular Culture: Language, Culture and Region in Flow" from the International Institute of Language and Culture Studies of Ritsumeikan University, and Grant-in-Aid for Publication of Scientific Research Results in English from Ritsumeikan University in 2016. I am grateful again to Ms. Yuka KOIZUMI who helped me to do research with the database of Japan's National Diet Library. Yuka is a Master's student in picture books and children's literature at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto. I owe much again to Mr. Jun Ohnuki for more natural English expressions and Ms. Yuko Kawauchi for the research on MORI Ōgai.

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BEING AND BELIEVING: SANTHAL WORLD OF GODS AND SPIRITS

UPASANA SINHA, NIRBAN MANNA

ABSTRACT

The Santhal, though one of the most significant tribes in India yet little is known about their habitus. They live not only in their human tribal society but also in a much greater and larger society consisting of different spirits and supernatural beings. Belief in the invisible world has made the Santhalis deem that fate of the individual and community at large depends upon the practices which are followed by them. Taking these into consideration, the present paper probes into the theistic and animistic beliefs of the Santhal community and their concepts of health, disease, treatment, life and death which are as varied and conglomerate as their culture. The paper also delves into their centred concept of God, benevolent, malevolent spirits and the religious practices followed by them which are entangled in their cognitive process. To capture this wholeness of Santhal habitus, Folktales have been used as a medium which would ultimately help in gauging their supernatural understanding and relationships with the unseen forces which intervenes human affairs.

Keywords: theistic, animistic, folktales, Santhals, tribal literature, religion.

Religion of every culture is driven by a supernatural understanding in relation to their existence as well as their correspondence with the functional universe. It is in relation to those agencies that people of particular communities relate themselves. This sort of communication with the cosmic mind governs the ethical and moral arena of individual as well as society as a whole. In this regard, the beliefs of tribal people seem to be the centripetal force and the point of reference which has brought them together on a common ground of belief. Almost all the tribal communities have the same belief when it comes to understanding the cosmic ways[1]. According to the European notion of theories of scientific evolution and diffusion, tribal people did not have a proper understanding of God. Not only this, they also referred to the fact that they do not have a proper religion. In connection to this, the "intellectualist theory of religion," needs to be mentioned which

[1] Ozukum: 1.

suggests that belief or perception of belief in God can be categorised into two different sections: belief in higher God or the Supreme Being and belief in lower gods or the lesser spirits. This theory proposes that the communities where people are closely knitted and do not have much contact with the outside world are generally more obsessed with the glorification and worship of lesser spirits or the low gods. The worship of nature and its different elements such as stones, trees, mountains, groves comprises the worship of the lesser spirits. This theory led to the proposition that tribal people, given the fact that they are closely knitted and live in confined communities in close association with nature, had the notion of only the lesser spirits but had no existing concept of the Supreme Being. This theory advocates the fact that belief in Supreme Being can exist only when there is exposure and close association with the outside world; basically, the reason being that tribal people assimilate the beliefs, worldviews and cultures of people of other communities who are a part of the outside world[2].

In opposition to this theory, we have several indigenous tribes like Nagas and Santhals, who showcase their belief in the existence and authority of a Supreme Being because of their contact with the developed regions and their acceptance of the belief in a divine power. The present paper, in its holistic outlook will probe into the theistic and animistic beliefs of the Santhal tribe, which is the largest tribal community in North-Eastern India. The Kolarian[3] tribes of India, of which the Santhals are the most imperative ones, are the last vestiges of the race and their conventional abode is thought to be the Santhal Parganas[4] in parts of the Chota Nagpur plateau in Jharkhand. Like Naga tribe, the Santhal tribe too came in contact with developed communities like the Christians and the Hindus which had 'developed religions'. In relation to this, some writers have spoken of syncretism[5] as the sole reason for the notion of the existence of the Supreme Being in practices of religion of the primitive tribes. Syncretism subsists in primitive religions like Santhals and Nagas who have come in contact with the developed religions[6]. With no scepticism, one can say that the belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is to be found in the religion of many of the tribes. The theory propounded by Wilhelm

[2] Horton: 220-223.

[3] E.T. Dalton in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* has classified his chosen tribes of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa into two groups: aborigines and 'Hinduized aborigines'. He subdivided the first into the Dravidian and the Kolarian on the basis of language, which according to him was 'the most obvious affinity'. He categorized Santhals as the Kolarians.

[4] Santhal Pargana is one of the divisions of Jharkhand, Dumka being its headquarter. Today this managerial division contains six regions: Godda, Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara, Sahibganj and Pakur. In the past, Santhal Parganas contained a region of a same name, in undivided Bihar state, India. Prior to that, in 1855, amid British India, Santhal Parganas was made as a district, and was a part of the Bengal Presidency.

[5] Syncretism implies borrowing developed concepts of God and religious practices from the developed religions.

[6] Some authors say that the idea of the Supreme Being, as the creator of the universe present in primitive religion is borrowed from some developed religions.

Schmidt[7] clearly defines the practice of primitive monotheism among different tribes. According to him, almost all the tribal people began with a monotheistic concept of a God who is above all, the benign creator, who is usually a sky god. He proposed that the notion of a Supreme Being, finds its place of reverence in almost all the primitive cultures[8]. The belief, recognition and dependence on one Supreme Being are the basic features of the primitive monotheism according to Schmidt. Whereas, Andrew Lang, the Scottish writer, opines that the concept of Supreme Being or the 'High God', as he puts it, has no sort of interference with the day to day affairs of the human beings[9]. Supporting this notion, Lang cites a myth, which clearly states that once the sky where God dwelt was very near to the earth and it could be touched, but one day a woman took some pieces of sky and mixed them in a soup which was being cooked. This action of hers angered God and since then he decided to withdraw himself into the present distance. Since he has gone away from the human beings, thus he does not concern Himself with human affairs any longer. Whereas the understanding of Schmidt states that sky that is heaven is the dwelling place of the Supreme Being, although according to the myths, it is often said that in earlier times, God lived among the people and taught them the moral, religious, social and economic tasks. However, He went away on account of some sin committed by the human beings and since then He lives in the sky[10].

In connection to this, almost all the tribal communities perceive that God is the basis of eternity. He is the first one to exist ever, who is immortal, He is the one who has created the universe; in the case of Santhals, *Thakur Jiu*, being the creator of the universe, sustains it with all His power and might. Mostly the tribes believe in a Supreme Being, who has no structure, is thought to be imageless but there are certain tribes in India who identify their respective Supreme Beings with natural objects like the sun, the moon and the earth. Here it is to be observed that in India, the Supreme Being is normally identified with a male or a gender-neutral deity. The Garo tribe in North East India is an exception to it as they believe in divine mother. Besides the notion of existence of Supreme Being, belief in the existence of the spirits or spirit occupies the core of tribal people. The tribal find the spirit world in close communion with them. They believe in a lot of spirits which have

[7] Andrew Lang was the first modern scholar to talk about the existence of primitive monotheism. According to him, monotheism had developed out of a lower animistic form of worship. However, Lang began to doubt this after he came to know about the discovery of the existence of a belief in a High God among the tribes of Southeast Australia. He found out that they regarded the High God as a being who actually existed. Thus the belief could not be explained on the basis of animism. However, Schmidt expanded on this and showed that a belief in a Supreme Being is found among all the primitive people of different cultures. He also found that the geographical distribution of the ancient people was so much that it encircled the full earth. Thus he found it reasonable to assume that their common belief in a Supreme Being must have been deeply and strongly rooted in the ancient culture which they shared before the individual groups separated from each other.

[8] Ozukum: 2.

[9] Soto: 86.

[10] Ozukum: 2.

varied functions. The world of spirits is considered to be real for the tribals. Generally the tribal communities are based at villages, so they have this notion that there are benevolent and hateful spirits around them which interfere in their daily affairs.

In this regard, the unseen world of the Santhals needs to be cited. They believe that beyond the world encompassing villages, mountains, fields, houses, forests, women, men and animals, there are two other worlds, one being the underground one and the other, beyond the sky. These two worlds inclusive of the third world where human beings reside are occupied by incalculable supernatural beings and spirits which they term as *bongas*. Hence the Santhals, live not only in their human tribal society but also in a much greater and larger society consisting of different sorts of spirits and supernatural beings as well. Living in close association with the spirits, the Santhals too believe that happiness, harmony, good health and peace would only prevail if there is a balance maintained between nature, human beings and the supernatural beings. They opine that any breach of social customs, incest or sinful act committed by an individual causes the individual to suffer from illness. Otherwise a human being, as the natural order suggests, has a natural right to live a healthy life till old age and die a natural death[11].

Tribal concept of health, disease, treatment, life and death is as varied and conglomerate as their culture. Significantly, the tribal world is guided by customs beliefs and practices which have been laid down traditionally and every member of the society is expected to attune themselves and conform to those practices. The fate of the individual and community at large depends upon the practices which are followed by them. Relationship with the unseen forces which intervene human affairs are part of almost all the tribal communities including the Santhals. It is assessed that if the human beings offend them, then they are punished by the mystical powers in the form of sickness, natural calamities or ultimately death. Santhals have their own conception of 'good and happy life'. According to them, there are four conditions that constitute a happy life. The first condition is that of well-being and freedom from sickness and disease. Santhals believe that there are hundreds of malevolent spirits or *bongas* which harass people and cause illness and death otherwise they have a natural right to healthy life. The second condition is enjoying life with no restrictions and time schedules. This entails the principal 'to eat, drink and be merry'. This play principle has one harmful element of too much conspicuous consumption and expenditure. As a result, the obsession for continuance of pricey rituals such as *Baha* or *Maker* visibly shows that inclination to save money is very low among the Santhals. The third condition for a good life is to have smooth relationship with all the members of the family and community, which is free from any kind of abrasion. Social actions are an indispensable part of social, traditional and political organizations. These social actions are decided by

[11] Mathur: 109.

the traditional leaders in whom people have lots of faith and confidence. All the social actions are frictionless and are free from any sort of envy or resentment. Thus, there is cohesiveness and harmony among the village folk. The fourth and the last constituent of a happy life is that there should be a balance between nature, the world of men and that of the spirits. The supernatural world comprises spirits or *bongas* of different orders. There are benevolent *bongas* of dead ancestors who are much concerned about the daily affairs of their survivors even after their death. *Bongas* of the sacred grove are the benevolent spirits who wish for the welfare of their people in the village. Whereas, the malevolent *bongas* exist everywhere in the universe and cause sufferings to village-folks[12]. The Santhals are so much fanatical about the presence of spirits that we find traces of different varieties of *bongas* (who perform various functions) even in the folktales that have been taken into consideration. These surviving relics have been collected by P.O. Bodding[13] and A. Campbell[14] in their collections of *Santal Folk Tales.* They make us familiar with the unseen world of the Santhal community which consists of many Gods and Spirits as described below.

Thakur Jiu is the supreme divine being for the Santhals. As believed, He allots a measured term of life to every living creature and is not considered as a *bonga.* He is also sometimes referred to as *Chando.* He is the supreme of all the spirits and the supernatural beings. Next to *Thakur Jiu,* comes *Sin Chando* (sun) and *Nindo Chando* (moon) who are also present in the sky and their work is regulation of the climatic conditions. We find the presence of *Chando* in the tale "The Story of a Hanuman Boy", in which a woman gives birth to a boy who resembled an ape. At this her elder sons and relatives force her to kill the child but she refused and exclaimed, "When Father Chando has given me such a child, what can I say? I shall certainly not throw him away, nor am I going to kill him; I shall nurse him, and let him grow up. Afterwards Chando may do with him whatever He likes". Likewise in the story "The Mongoose Boy", a mongoose is born out of a queen, who was second wife of a king. At this, the king was shocked but he readily

[12] Mathur: 138-139.

[13] Reverand Paul Olaf Bodding (1865-1938) was a Norwegian missionary, folklorist, linguist and ethnographer. He served in India for 44 years (1889–1933), dedicating his life to the Santhal tribe. He operated basically from the town Dumka in the Santhal Parganas-district. He came to help Borresen and Skrefsrud in their missionary work. He indulged in collecting Santhali Literature consisting of folksongs, folktales, legends, medicines, witchcraft and record their daily life. He documented these with the help of Kolean, an old Santhal *guru.* After Bodding died, his wife Mrs Christine Bodding handed over the documentations to the Oslo University Library in Norway. It was published later on by another folklorist, Steven Konow. Sangram Murmu, a man from the Godda subdivision helped Bodding with the Santali language. He even collected few stories as he had good contact with his people. He got a nominal remuneration from Bodding to write and collect stories. The tribals claim that most of the stories were written as well as collected by Sangram Murmu himself (Datta 173-174).

[14] Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell of Gobindpore published in 1891, acollection of *Santal Folk Tales,* which he had collected from the district of Manbhum (now in Jharkhand).

accepted the boy[15]. He said, "...in a woman's womb Chando has sent an animal; this is an awful thing that has happened; whatever His will may be, we shall see what it is; we are certainly not superior to Him; to let anything shape in one's body, that depends on His power and His will..."[16].

In both the stories, the boys suffer a great deal but ultimately lead a good life. Here it can be traced that the Santhals believe in the Supreme God's ways and regard Him as the one who decides the fate of the human beings. They do believe in fate, which, according to them is designed by God, the Supreme Being. This even shows that the Santhals have a fatalistic thinking in which there is no place for free will. They think that everything is already preordained and one has little or no choice other than follow what has been determined by God. This archetypal unconsciousness does not let the Santhals question their actions, be it good or bad.

The next category of supernatural beings is the *Jaher*[17] *Bongas*, who reside in the sacred grove. There are five types of *Jaherbongas* which are known as national deities of the Santhals. *Maran Buru* or the spirit of the great mountain is the supreme of all the *Jaher bongas.* He is considered to have far-reaching powers with the help of which he associates with both the benevolent and the malevolent spirits[18]. *Maran Buru* has a mythical background attached to him. According to the Santhal myth of origin, it was *Maran Buru* who appeared in front of *Pilcu Haram* and *Pilcu Budhi*, in the disguise of *Lita Haram*, and called himself their grandfather. He then taught them how to brew rice-beer insisting upon them to offer the rice-beer whenever they invoke his name. They did as directed and ended up in having sex after drinking the rice beer and here-after, the whole of humanity came into existence. Thus, *Maran Buru*, as a grandfather is considered to be a 'good old fellow' and is regarded as a good *bonga.* Thereafter, whenever the Santals make rice-beer, they offer it first to *Maran Buru* and their dead ancestors and then drink it. The village priest, the *naeke*, worships *Maran Buru* on behalf of the whole village. Even in the family worships, the offerings to him are made in the *bhitarkhond*, which is the family worshipping place. Thus, he is regarded both as a family and the village *bonga*[19]. There are evidences of this to be found in Bodding's collection of Santhal tales "The Silly Women" and "The Story of Some Women", where the women before making the sacrifice to the spirits of their ancestors, brew rice beer and offer it first to *Maran Buru*, the principal *bonga* and then to the spirits of the ancestors. It is to be conjectured here that the bigger and the smaller Gods are placed hierarchically with regard to their social and power differentials. They have specialized roles with reference to their regimented hierarchical and social structure. As we see that *Thakur Jiu*, the supreme being is

[15] Bodding vol. 3: 135-144.
[16] Bodding vol. 3: 144-145.
[17] Jaher means grove.
[18] Mathur: 144.
[19] Bodding vol.1: 8-10.

placed up in the sky and he is considered to be the supreme being who controls everything whereas the other smaller gods and *bongas*, who are placed either in the mountains, trees or rivers have specialized roles.

In the case of *Moreko-Turuiko* (Five-Six), which comes next to *Maran Buru*, they are five-six *bongas* taken as a single composite spirit who is responsible for the welfare of the village and has control over epidemics and natural calamities. At all the *jaher* worships, this spirit is offered sacrifice. Collective sacrifices by the whole village community are offered to *Moreko-Turuiko*, especially at times of spread of epidemic or cattle disease. This spirit is even worshipped in the *bhitarkhond* (family worshiping place) at the time when sowing and flowering festivals are observed[20]. There are references of sacrifices and offerings made to the *jaher bongas* in the story, "The Hanuman Boy". In the tale, the brothers as well as the Hanuman boy perform the first-fruit offering[21] after their paddy ripened. It is to be noted here that the Santhals do not eat any cultivated stuff unless the first-fruit offering has been performed. In the story we find evidences of smoothening the ground and smearing it with cow-dung in order to make the offering. The brothers cut the cultivated crop and then performed the offering to the *jaher bongas* at the spot near the grove which was smeared with cow-dung[22]. It happens that if there is a case of a promise or oath made at the time of illness then even individual sacrifices are performed. The most noticeable point is that *Moreko-Turuiko* is the only sacred grove *bonga* who is revealed only after the "medicine-man" or the *ojha's* prediction. In another tale "The Herd Boy and the Witches", there is reference of *Moreko-Turuiko* but in some other context. In one of the instances, a herd boy lost his calf, and went in search for it in the jungle. While searching for his calf, he realised that it was already night and thus he decided to spend the night in the jungle. But he started feeling frightened and thus he decided to go to the *Jaher than* (the sacred grove), where, according to him, *Moreko-Turuiko* would protect him against any kind of danger[23]. It can be commented here that the Santhal worldview revolves around appeasing all kind of spirits so that they are not inflicted upon with any kind of misfortune or ultimately death. This fear might be the root cause of their belief in all sorts of spirits. Freud explains that one of the greatest challenges of adulthood is dealing with the learned or the set idea of death.

[20] Mathur: 144.

[21] The Santhals do not eat any cultivated crop before the first-fruit offering is performed. Generally, the village priest makes the offering but it can also be performed by the one who has cultivated the crop. The village priest cuts as much crop as he can reach standing at a particular spot; then he takes it to the sacred grove, where the spot is cleared and is smeared by cow dung. After that he performs the offering to the *bongas*. Milk is also poured out as a libation. It is to be noted here that the spirits of the sacred grove are also offered animals as sacrifice. When an animal is sacrificed, a handful of rice is put down near the grove and some vermilion or *sindur* is stroked on the place; the animal to be sacrificed is then made to eat rice and is thereupon beheaded.

[22] Bodding vol. 3: 110-144.

[23] Bompass and Bodding: 441.

Thus it can be construed that this is one of the major reasons that people take recourse to belief in supernatural spirits and religion, as it is believed that religion provides that ultimate hope, reassurance and comfort against the phantom of death. This is why religion appeals the most to many people. The relationship between religion and death has been theorized upon by many thinkers too. Lucretius, the ancient Roman philosopher once said, "Fear was the first thing on Earth to make gods"[24].

Similar to the role of *Moreko-Turuiko,* the goddess of the Sacred Grove or the *Jaher Era* who is said to be the sister of *Moreko-Turuiko* and is conserved inviolate in every Santhal village as the abode of the village *bongas*. As per the Santhals' belief, she is liable to the other *bongas*. She stays and presides over the sacred grove. She looks after the interests of the villagers and is a good spirit who does no harm. Thus, she is worshipped in almost all the festivals. There is no reference of this *bonga* in any of the stories. There is not much known about the *Gosae Erabonga.* It is believed by some people that she might be the sister of *Jaher Erabonga.* She is embodied by a *matkom*[25] tree in the sacred grove. Kolean Haram, the old 'guru' reported that at the *Baha* or the Flower festival, two booths are erected in the sacred grove and one of them is meant for the *Gosae Era.* She is usually worshipped by sacrificing a fowl by the village priest. It is presumed that villagers worship her to be spared from the infliction of sores. These three deities, that is the *Jaher bongas* mentioned above, are the common *bongas* for the whole Santhal tribe. *Maran Buru, Moreko Turuiko* and *Gosai Era* are very closely related to one another and they are fitted under three *Sal trees*[26] in the sacred grove[27].

In addition to the *bongas* mentioned above, there are other *bongas* like the *Pargana Bonga*, who is the spirit of the Pargana and has special and extraordinary powers over witches. Hence it is assumed that the witches as well as the witch-finders worship him for special training and proficiency in the art of witchcraft and witch-finding consecutively. He is represented by one of the *sarjom* trees in the sacred grove. Whenever there is some sort of disease spread in the village which is quite general in nature, then the spirit of the Pargana is satiated by the 'medicine-man', that is the *ojha.* He beseeches the *bonga* to liberate and rid the village of all the misfortunes and woes so that the village-folks live a healthy life thereafter. The *Pargana bonga* is faintly hinted at, in the story "The Herd boy and the Witches". In

[24] Wilson 1999.

[25] *Matkom* tree, the scientific name is *bassia latifolia.*

[26] *Sal* tree, the scientific name is *shorea robusta.*

[27] In this respect, it is to be mentioned that's acred site shaveal ways been the sites of identity construction, be it religious, political or ethnic. On one hand the yare the harbingers of happiness, unity and harmony among people, while on the other hand, they sometimes create intra-religious and inter-cultural conflict. In the case of the Santhals, it is the sacred grove, same as temples, mosques or churches, which is the pre-eminent site for the construction of Santhal's identity by providing them with a different ethnic, religious and cultural identity in India, which is known for its cultural diversity.

this story, the herd boy decided to spend the night in the jungle as it was too late to go home. He decided to go to the *Jaher than* so that he would be protected by the *Moreko-Turuiko*. He heard some of the witches talking to the *bongas* and some tigers and dancing with them. As mentioned earlier, the witches get special powers from the *Paragana bonga* and thus it can be construed that the *bongas* with which the witches were dancing might be the *Pargana bonga*[28]. Here Bronislaw Malinowski, the anthropologist, needs to be mentioned, who argues in his book "Magic, Science and Religion and other essays" that religion gives a sense of power over death by safeguarding our lives against the fear of it. In 1930, even Einstein put forth his views regarding relationship between fear of death and religion. He said in the New York Times magazine that "...with primitive man it is above all fear that evokes religious notions – fear of hunger, wild beasts, sickness, death"[29]. This reasoning very well goes with the aboriginal tribes like Santhals who, owing to their fear of death, devastation, hunger and sickness worship all the spirits so that they might live peacefully by sufficing all the spirits who form a part of their worldview. Another socio-biologist, E.O. Wilson argues about the neurological and evolutionary basis of human behaviour. According to him, "The formidable influence of the religious drive is based on far more, however, than just the validation of morals. A great subterranean river of the mind, it gathers strength from a broad spread of tributary emotions. Foremost among them is the survival instinct. ... Our conscious minds hunger for a permanent existence ... as it gives the individual meaning"[30].

The second in decree to Pargana *bonga* is the *Manjhi bonga* or the spirit of the village headman. His job is to restrain other malevolent spirits in causing destruction or doing harm to the people. It is supposed that he is the original founder of the village. He is alleged to stand for the spirits of all the past village headmen as well as the existing one. *Manjhi than* is the place where the *Manjhi bonga* resides. The residing place is signified by a stone put at the foot of the central and the most vital wooden post. The active *Manjhi* or the village headman is the only person who performs the sacrifices at the *Manjhi than*[31]. They are executed only on the occasion of primary festivals. It is said that this particular spirit acts as the principal adviser of the headman. Adding up to this, the other spirits that are the spirits of the past headmen act as a guide to the present headman. He obtains the corroboration of his office only after the sacramental communiqué with his deceased predecessors. *Manjhi bonga* is responsible for the welfare of the village as a whole but above all, he is accountable for the wellbeing of the headman and his family. In the tale "The Bonga Headman" in Bompass' *Folklore of the Santhal Parganas*, we find the mention of *Manjhi than* where,

[28] Bompass: 441.
[29] Einstein 1930: 1-4.
[30] Wilson 1999.
[31] Mathur: 144.

major decisions of the village are taken in the presence of the invisible headman *bonga* who is supposed to sit on a stool under the banyan tree and help in taking major decisions of the village. Without his consent, the villagers and the existing living headman does not arrive on any result in the decision making process. There is even mention of human sacrifices being made but people don't talk about it as it is presupposed that mentioning anything about the sacrifices would bring them bad luck. If any minion person in the village has a wedding in and he lacks in dishes and plates, then, it has been said that the person gets it if he goes to the banyan tree and asks the headman to provide him the same[32]. In the case of village headman and his spirit, it can be supposedly said that leaders use religion and religious symbols and practices as social tools to let their supremacy reign over for ages. This is later on used by their successors who take recourse to religion and superstitious practices in order that the religion acts as the authority keeping the authorities under the veil and uphold their position in the society. These practices even ward away the threat of a conquering enemy thus retaining the power of the existing authority without questioning their existence.

All the above mentioned *bongas* are worshipped in public. They are regarded to be the national tribal spirits. Apart from these, there are two types of *bongas* in each family. One is the *Orak bonga* or the household god and the *Abge bonga* who is the secret god. Even these bongas have to be appeased once a year by offering sacrifices. In the process, the women are only involved in the preparation and are not allowed to touch the food which is laid before the *Abge bonga*. A point to be noticed here is that according to the custom, the name of the secret *bonga* of the house is revealed only to the eldest son of the family. No woman is supposed to know the name of the secret *bonga* as it is supposed (based on the Santhal myth), that women would furtively learn magic incantations from the *bonga* and become witches and gradually eat up their own family members in the absence of any kind of divine fortification[33]. The tales do not provide any hint of the presence of these spirits.

As a part of their set rituals, each Santhal family worships *Hapramkoren bonga*, the spirits of the ancestors. This is an integral and indispensable part of the tradition that the Santhals follow in order to maintain peace and solidarity in the house. Ancestor worship is done as the Santhals believe in survival of the soul after the death of a person. But only after performing the last funeral rites, that is the *Bhandan* ceremony, one becomes the *Hapramkoren bonga* and joins his ancestors. Santhals believe that the ancestors interfere and take active interests in the family and household affairs. The members of the house feel safe under the protection of their ancestors. It is assumed that these spirits only think of the welfare of their remnants. Thus the inmates of a particular house invoke and worship their ancestors in every social ceremony that they partake. It is said, "... whether it is a time of drinking rice-beer, eating a meal, celebrating a festival, a birth or a

[32] Bompass: 374.
[33] Mathur: 145.

wedding or placating the bongas the recent dead must be given their small offering"[34].

Similarly, for the Ao Nagas, dead ancestors play a major role and are thus offered sacrifices. It is believed that a dead ancestor can either make their descendants rich or poor by granting or withholding from them, the *Aren* or Prosperity. The sacrifice generally takes place outside the village and a pig as well as a cock is sacrificed. Sacrifices are offered so that with their blessing, crops grow in plenty and the ancestors forgive their descendants' sin if they have committed against the dead ancestor before he expired[35]. There is mention of spirits of ancestors in the stories "The Silly Women" and "Stories of Some Women". In these tales, the women try to worship their ancestors in the absence of their husbands but they are unsuccessful as they were doing it for the first time and were not aware of the knowhow of the rituals regarding the worship of the spirits of the ancestors[36]. In this context it can be put forward that in the Santhal community, the village rituals are different for different genders. Women are completely excluded from participating in the worship of different family spirits. Not only this, but their role in village collective worship is also limited. Women are not supposed to know the family spirits and it is only passed from father to son. They cannot sacrifice animals or witness the sacrifice, but can have some portion of the sacrificial meat. Even in this they have to face the patriarchal spasm as they are not allowed to have the portions of head, which, according to them, is ritually the most valued part of the meat. In this regard, in the folktales it is quite obvious that the women would secretly watch and learn the rites, which their men would perform and in their absence, if demanded, they would perform those rites, but ignorant of the full know-how of those religious practices, they were never fully successful as is obvious in the folktales. All the religious ceremonies, as suggested were to be performed by the nearest male relative of the house. It can be construed that the religious rights of women were taken away from them, which made them inferior beings (same in some other communities like Hindu, Muslims, Nagas). They are not fully the members of the clan. After marriage they are supposed to leave their father's clan, but even afterwards they do not become integral part of their husband's clan. This is thus a crucial step in creating a class of people with lower political and religious rights. Hence celebration of masculinity is at its peak in these cases.

According to the Santhals, apart from these benevolent spirits, there are even malevolent spirits who are always thought to be dangerous and are meant to cause destruction to humankind. These are the spirits of those people who die an unnatural death, or a death in the womb. These spirits are thought to live in the outskirts of the village, mainly on the road side, rivers, ponds, stones, trees etc. It is

[34] Archer and Kuldip: 341.
[35] Ozukum: 7.
[36] Bodding vol.3: 229-245.

supposed that all the unpleasant things that happen to Santhals are because of these spirits. All kinds of sufferings, be it from diseases, accidents or damage of properties or even madness is attributed to these kind of evil spirits. It is because of the fear of them that people have to offer domestic animals and birds as sacrifices along with food and offering of rice-beer.

Some of the spirits which are malevolent include the *Sima bonga* or the village boundary spirits. They are considered to be very furious and are propitiated by the assistant priest known as the *Kudam Naeke*. However, if it is revealed through the oil prediction by the *ojha* that *Sima bongas* are the cause of trouble for the whole village or even a family, then the village people or the members of that respective family offer sacrifices to him with the help of *ojhas*. These spirits are generally propitiated twice a year. The sacrifice of fowls is offered at the village boundary. The sacrifice even goes to the extent of the offering of human blood. The sacrifice performed, is accompanied by appropriate invocations. Then sun-dried rice is placed on *sarjom* leaves soaked with blood and thereafter it is kept in front of those particular trees which represent the *Sima bongas.* They are thought to take away half of the harvest of farmers. In the narrative "The Boundary Bonga" by Bompass, we find that the boundary spirit is bent on taking the reaped crops of a particular farmer. It is detailed that for the fear of this spirit, the farmer reaped his crops early because he had heard the *Sima bonga* talking to his wife that he would be out for some time. The farmer thought that in the absence of the *bonga*, he could get a larger portion of the cultivated crops, which otherwise is taken away by the *Sima bonga.* Thus he took advantage of this opportunity and thrashed his paddy. To his wonder, he found that this time he got sixty bushels of rice which was a big quantity; previously he would get only twenty bushels because the *Sima bonga* would take away the rest of paddy. Later on when the bonga arrived, the farmer made the sacrifice of a pig and some reaped crop in order to make the crop harvesting successful[37].

In addition to the boundary spirits, there are *Bahre bongas*, the outskirts spirits who create illusion and misguide the people. There is a traditional belief that these spirits live in the pools, streams, ditches, ponds, deserted places, pits, mounds, old funeral sites, tree stumps, holes in the ground and hillocks. Village-folks try to avoid the abode of these *bongas* as they are quite furious. To suffice the *Bahre bongas*, a collective sacrifice is offered to them at the time of *jaher* worship by the priest, the *naeke*. In "Lakhan and the bongas" by Bompass, we find the existence of the *Bahre bongas.* It is shown that in an attempt to chase his deer and catch it, Lakhan, the protagonist, landed up in the land of some spirits (might be the boundary spirits), which ultimately seized him. As a result, Lakhan became mad and ultimately ran into a pool and died. After his death, some of the maiden spirits took away the spirit of Lakhan with them[38]. Apart from the *Bahre bongas*, there are

[37] Bodding vol. 3: 395.
[38] Bodding vol. 3: 380.

Bagut bongas, the water spirits who elope away with the young men of the village in order to marry them. In the story titled "The Schoolboy and the Bonga", we find instances of a school boy being forced to marry a maiden *bonga.* This hints at the fact that she might be a *Bagut bonga.* In the story, a school boy left his books and pen on a bank, while he bathed in a tank. One fine day a maiden spirit took away his belongings with the purpose of marrying him. The boy ceased to take any food unless he got his books. His parents requested the *bonga* girl, still she denied to give away his belongings unless he himself came to take them. Finally, he himself went to take his books but the maiden spirit enticed him and kept him to herself as her husband. He became homesick after some days and expressed his desire to go home and see his parents. The maiden spirit finally agreed to it but even after waiting for many days, when the boy did not turn up, she changed herself into a *Karinagin* snake and bit the boy and when he died, she went away with his spirit[39]. Similarly in the stories, "The Sarsagun Maiden", there are traces of *bonga Kora* who takes away a maiden girl who was about to be married. The *bonga* shuts her inside a house and does not set her free. Finally the groom himself went and saved the girl by riding inside the house on his horse and bringing her back. Similarly, in the stories "The Bonga's Cave" and "The Bonga's Victim" we find traces of some malevolent spirits catching hold of common people in order to marry them or for their own personal reasons[40].

There are other *bongas* like *Nihar bongas* who accompany a woman to her husband's village. On the other hand, *Kisar bongas* are *bongas* who help people in becoming rich. In the tale, "The Bonga Exorcised", a poor man, while ploughing his field, found a brass pot which was full of money. His happiness knew no bounds and he along with his wife, buried the brass pot in his house. They began growing rich day by day. Their children too grew up to be healthy and happy but after some years, their fortune took some other turn and one after the other their family started remaining constantly ill. Every year, one or the other grandchild died. A *jan guru* (a person with divine knowledge) was consulted, who told them that a *Kisar bonga* was responsible for their misfortunes. He ultimately told them to offer some sacrifices in order to drive the *bonga* away from that time, their troubles ceased[41].

These malevolent spirits form an indispensable part of the Santhal world. In order to appease and content these spirits, worship of the malevolent spirits became a part of the ritual in the Santhal religious system. In order that the malevolent spirits do not bother the common people, people take recourse to going to the Santal *ojha*, who is thought to be a healer and diviner. He not only drives away the malevolent deities but also cures the diseases by administering remedies according to his medical knowledge. It is said that he learns the divinations or the basic magical formulas from his master, and gradually even adds to them from his own

[39] Bodding vol. 3: 384-385.
[40] Bodding vol. 3: 384-391.
[41] Bodding vol.3: 396.

experience. Apart from these, there are some ceremonial rituals which the Santhals follow. Some rituals are performed individually and some are done collectively. Life-cycle rituals such as initiation, marriage and burial of the dead are performed by individual households whereas after cremation, the ritual of collecting bones and immersion in water is a part of collective ritual. Other collective rites are the rituals connected to the agricultural cycle such as sowing then transplanting followed with sanctification of crops and finally the harvesting festival. Another very important and integral culture of Santhal society is the flower festival which is also known as the festival of the ancestors and it is basically related to the fertility of women. Apart from all this, there are rituals which are thought to bring rain down to earth. It is held in spring and involves the sacramental participation of the village priest, who, it is believed has the power to bring down rain on earth. The village priest or the *naeke* along with his wife is identified as the spokesperson of the original Santhal couple. Their functions and responsibilities are mainly concerned with the festivals and annual ceremonies which involves the worship of the ancestors as well as the different *bongas* too. According to the norms, he sanctifies the animals offered as sacrifice to the sacred grove deities mentioned earlier.

The evil as well as the benevolent spirits are present in legion in the tales which concern the spirits and the rituals which are performed in order to appease them. Here it can be commented that the men, as a result of existing archetype, or a routine practice, do whatever has been ingrained since their birth. This owes to the fact that they have inherited their identity from faith in the invisible world. Likewise, symbols, myth, beliefs and creed emerge as designs of mental content or visionary blueprints in them. This prototype directs, inspires or promotes the activities which become the archetype or the standardized norms. These conceptual orientations are performed as rituals or practices. Thus, ritual can be said to be a thoughtless action or a routinized or mimetic physical representation of prior ideas. Hence the survival instincts lead the Santhals to worship different forces of nature including supernatural beings. Additionally, In 'Fundamentalism' by Malise Ruthven, it is alleged that, "Religious images and texts provide ways in which violence, pain and death are overcome symbolically. Human suffering is made more durable by the idea that death and pain are not pointless, that lives are not wasted needlessly, but are part of a grander scheme in which divinely constituted order reigns supreme above the chaos and disorder of the world. In such a context, the horrors and chaos of wars, as described in the Mahabharata and the Book of Joshua, as debated in the Baghavad Gita, as predicted in the Book of Revelation, and as alluded to in the Koran, are subsumed within an order seen to be meaningful and ultimately benign"[42].

This fear of death gives rise to the superstitious religious beliefs and practices among the people, mostly the aboriginal tribes like Santhals, Nagas, Ao and many

[42] Ruthven: 119.

more. This superstition phenomenon can be explained through an example of game of cards. It happens generally that after selecting a series of cards of lower value, one is likely to do some kind of gesture like putting on a hat or praying for getting a card of a higher value whereas it is quite natural to pick a card of higher value after certain attempts. Thus we mistakenly end up in believing that the gesture of putting on the hat or praying made us to select the card of higher value which is not a valid reasoning. On an average, things gradually return to normal after a span of time. This is called the 'regression to average.' The same happens with the superstitious beliefs and practices that people undergo. Various superstitious beliefs and sacrifices if done during frantic or desperate times, such as financial ruin, drought or sickness, the chances are there that things return to the normal and get better. This is because of the 'law of regression' but people would mistakenly attribute their reversal of misfortunes to the rituals and the supernatural affiliation. This very well explains the reason behind the superstitious beliefs of the Santhals.

In addition to this, other theorists like Skinner have explained the notion of superstition by his 'Operant conditioning experiment' with rats and pigeons which has proved that this operant conditioning is not only for pigeons or rats but it influences the lives of common people as well. A series of actions taking place together as a unit and the coincidental relationship between these events in the shape of reinforcement and routine, lead to the phenomenon of conditioned superstition. Sometimes the accidental reinforcement combined with social influence gives rise to superstitious rituals. In most of the cases, this kind of conditioning works out well but at times it even goes awry. These coincidental events that take place at random makes people engage in uncanny and unproductive behaviour. Cognitive process goes along with operant conditioning and influences each other so much so that the result is a series of superstitious beliefs. Sometimes it happens that the conditioning process alters or changes our understanding about a situation. In the process of achieving a reward people moralize and rationalize their actions even if the act is believed to be wrong. In connection to this, under the influence of external factors, superstition also evolves as injudicious judgements and magical beliefs which give rise to certain rituals which are standardized by those in power. These superstitious rituals are to be found in heaps in the folktales of Santhals.

In the narrative, "The Boundary *Bonga*" by Bompass, we find evidences of sacrifice of a pig and some amount of reaped crop made to the boundary *bonga* in order to make the crop harvesting successful[43]. In another folktale, "The Bonga Exorcised", we find traces of *Kisar bonga* who was responsible for the misfortune of a farmer. The *jan guru* asked the couple to perform certain rituals to ward away the *bonga.* The rituals comprised the sacrifice of rams and utterance of vows over the nails Apart from this, in the stories, "The silly women" and "The story of some women", we find the reference of *Kutam dangra* festival which entails the sacrifice

[43] Bodding vol.3: 395.

of oxen being made as an offering to the ancestors. In another tale, *Mittan raj arjugirean*, that is "The story of a king and a jugi", there are rituals prescribed to the king by the learned person in order to beget children out of his seven wives. The *jugi* i.e. the *ojha*, asked them to perform rituals and if they get the child then they would have to give their first child to him. In most of the stories, we find evidences of the rituals beginning with boiling of clothes followed by washing of hair and refraining from any physical intimacy among the partners. And these rites were to be performed under strict supervision and in consultation with the *jugis*[44]. It is to be observed here that all these rituals arise out of belief, the belief that practicing these sacred rites would eventually lead to the desired result. In this regard, Catherine Bell has mentioned Edward Shils, who has argued that ritual and belief are separable yet intertwined and that concludes that beliefs can exist without rituals; rituals however, could not exist without beliefs. These beliefs are made staunch by the forerunners or the 'thought to be' religious leaders. These religious leaders come in the form of these *jugis* and *ojhas* among the Santhals who supposedly make a furore about the strict performance of all the rituals lest the performer meets any kind of misfortune. This fear factor is ingrained in the subconscious of the common tribal people by the people in power, as a result of which, the rituals and the belief in the supernatural beings becomes stronger day by day. In addition to this, Bell has recorded Durkheim who has put forth his viewpoint that religion comprises beliefs and rites: the beliefs represent the sacred and the rites are the specific modes of action that are defined only in terms of representations of the sacred. He wrote, "Between these two classes of facts, there is all the difference which separates thought from action"[45].

Seeing ritual from a different perspective, V. Turner described ritual as assertion of communal unity (which can be very clearly seen in case of the Santhal Community), in contrast to the constrictions, frictions and rivalry among the people in social life and organization[46]. Here the case of the Santhals suits the best as they join in unison and worship their respective spirits and Gods. In the tales "The Silly Women" and "The story of some women", we find example of this as the women belonging to the same clan come together and perform the religious rites together. Worshipping together, gave them the opportunity to share some light moments. This ultimately made them smile even at times of sorrow. The biggest sorrow for them was that their husbands had not come home since many days.

Another interpretation of practices of rituals amongst people is 'redemptive hegemony', a fusion of the Kenelm Burridge's concept of the "redemptive process" and Antonio Gramsci's notion of "hegemony". Gramsci's term, "hegemony", recognizes what goes inside the un-self-conscious mind of people. It is the dominance and the subordination factor that goes inside their subconscious which

[44] Bodding vol. 3: 17-37.
[45] Durkheim and Pickering 2011: 113.
[46] Bell 2009: 20.

people are not aware of. This term politicizes our perceptive of "the symbolic framework that reigns as common-sense", as put by David Laitin. This awareness, a cohesive and constructive moral order is nuanced and established in daily experiences and helps in the process of an individual's notion of reality and identity. Hence, this realistic awareness of the world is arranged with a construction of power which is misinterpretation as it is not the power that exists in reality but the power that is envisioned and encountered in a particular situation[47]. Thus, this hegemony does not let the commoners question the set beliefs and rituals which results in the carrying over of the set practices from generation to generation. Here, in relation to the Santhals, it can be said that because of the fear of the spirits (who are supposed to cause harm to the Santhals if there is any breach of religious rites performed by the Santhal people), the Santhals are so preoccupied with this, that they do not question the beliefs that have been set from times unknown. This makes them a victim to those in power. The archetypal unconsciousness plays a vital role in keep the fear alive.

On the other hand, we can even articulate that people practice the rituals and they see only the results that they intend to accomplish, they do not see the strategies they use in order to produce the desired results. According to Althusser, practice views the problem itself but does not view the production process which gives rise to or creates an object of its own that is 'ritual'. Again this is very true in the case of the Santhals who do not realize that in the process of performing any ritual, they take recourse to such methods and ways which are undesirable. For example, in the tales, we find sacrifices of many animals and birds for the sake of pleasing the spirits. In the tale, "The Boundary Bonga", we find evidences of the sacrifice of a pig as well as a good amount of cultivated crop being offered to the spirit so that the spirit does not destroy the cultivated crops. In another story, "The Bonga Exorcised", there are evidences of offering of a huge sum of money along with the sacrifice of two rams in order to stop the *Kisar bonga* from bothering the family. Apart from these two, we even find evidences of sacrifice of oxen in order to please the spirits of the ancestors, in the tales "The Silly Women" and "Story of some women". Apart from these losses, there is even loss of peace of mind, sensitivity, alertness, sense of reasoning and sense of justice. Even Foucault has a similar thing to say; according to him, people, in general know what they do and whey they do certain things but they miss out the fact that what is the result or outcome of what they are doing. Again Althusser says that this misrecognition of the new problem, leads to the inherent "blindness" of practice. It culminates in a tactical misrecognition of the connection between one's ends and the means[48].

Durkheim viewed ritual with a different lens. He gave the social solidarity theses according to which, the practice of the set rituals control the cognitive and

[47] Bell: 70-74.
[48] Bell: 164-165.

the psychological process through the agreement or the consensus among the brethren. This theses appealed to Robertson Smith, Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, and Munn owing to the role of ritual in the process of socialization. Supporting Durkheim's notion, David Kertzer too saw social solidarity as "a requirement of society" and ritual as "an indispensable element in the creation of that solidarity"[49]. This social solidarity can be best witnessed among the Santhals when it comes to the practice of rituals. However, Foucault focuses on the centrality of the body; he says that body is "the place where the most minute and local social practices are linked up with the large scale organization of power". The body is a political field: "Power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs". Foucault goes on to elaborate ritualization, as a means through which power operates, constituting the political expertise of the body. He explains that the power as a phenomenon is "rooted deep in the social nexus", and the power incorporates the choice of means to secure an advantageous position over others just as in the case of village priests and the medicine-men, among the Santhals. Hence ritualization can be taken as the planned game of power, of dominance and confrontation within the arena of the social body[50]. With respect to this it can be elucidated that the Santhals were victims of this planned game of power which is played by the people in power, that is, the non-Santhali communities like Hindus and Christians who lived in close association with the Santhals made them act their own way. They guided and intervened in their religious practices which resulted even in conversion of some of the Santhals into Hindus and Christians. Apart from these, even the religious agents like *ojhas* and *jugis,* in order to gain control over the Santhals, guided them in their own way.

Apart from the above mentioned theoretical concepts, it can be said that the Santhals developed their worldview in accordance with their notion of Supreme Being and the minor spirits. It can be construed that at the times when these folktales were recorded, Santhals were not very closely connected with the cities and thus for a community who depended on agriculture and lived in jungles, for their survival, depended on the natural resources and being constantly exposed to the threats of nature gave rise to the belief in supernatural beings and spirits which seems but natural. Hence, living in their own arena, they rationally interpreted the ways of God in their own ways based upon which they practiced their rituals and beliefs. Though their rational understanding, as shown in the folktales was quite crude, yet their concept and understanding of the worldly spirits hints at their geniusness even in the absence of practical knowledge and any scientific understanding. In the absence of any knowledge which would distinguish the animate and inanimate, their world just revolved around the centred concept of God, benevolent and malevolent spirits which stuck entangled in their cognitive

[49] Bell: 166-170.
[50] Bell: 168-180.

process and this knot constituted their wholeness of life which gets affected even if any single thread gets loosened or is broken.

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NON-ISLAMIC ELEMENTS OF FUNERALS IN CENTRAL ASIA, UZBEKISTAN: A COMPARISON OF THE FUNERALS AND TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL BELIEFS OF THE UZBEKS AND THE YAKUTS

KIM MIN SOO, LEE JONG OH

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to examine non-Islamic elements of Uzbek funerals. This study compares each stage of the traditional funerals of the Uzbeks and those of the Yakuts. A number of Uzbek funeral elements generally believed as remnants of Zoroastrianism, which are similar especially to those of Tajiks' in Fergana Region, are observed in the Yakut funerals. The professional undertaker system and the public's attitudes towards them share some common elements with those of Yakuts. Additional common elements between the traditional funerals of the Uzbeks and Yakuts include various taboos based on fear towards dead bodies, using the mourning services of a professional mourner, building houses for spirits at gravesites, and ancestral rites. However, there is no evidence that either Zoroastrianism or Islam influenced on funeral rites of Turkic Yakuts. Thus, this indicates that the common elements in the traditional funeral system of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts have closer relations with the funeral rites of the Old Turks, rather than those of either Zoroastrianism or Islam.

Keywords: Central Asia, Uzbeks, Yakuts, Traditional funeral, Non-Islamic element, Common elements of Turks.

I. INTRODUCTION

Islam has been taking deep root in all areas of life in Central Asia since around the 7th century. Despite its long history, Islam in this region is mainly characterized by syncretism, retaining more remnants of pre-Islam and traditional religions than Orthodox Islam does. A number of key factors support this assessment. First, Zoroastrianism has its origins in the Central Asia region, where diverse religious and cultural influences coexist, owing to its geographical proximity to the cradle of the world's main religions, including Manicheism, Judaism, and Buddhism. Second, nomadic culture in the plains and sedentary (agrarian) culture in the oases – two very heterogeneous cultures – have long coexisted in this region. Third, as an ancient trade and transport hub, this region

was open to new religions or cultures. Fourth, leaders of the Turkic countries not only actively accepted and spread Islam, but also had a positive attitude towards other existing religions.

This paper aims to identify non-Islamic elements from these syncretic characteristics of Central Asian Islam in traditional Uzbek[1] funerals. Their traditional rites – a syncretic blending of pre-Islamic, Islamic and non-Islamic elements – are fundamental to an understanding of the distinctiveness of the traditional Uzbek lifestyle and worldviews, and key to understanding the regional diversity of Central Asian Islam.

The main reason this research was based on examining funeral rites rather than one of the many other possible traditional rites is that a funeral is a passage rite in which other rites such as separation, transition, and incorporation are inherent.[2] Moreover, the funeral is a collective action that involves handling dead bodies and properly incorporating spirits, which are separated from the bodies, into the immortal realm, through a certain period of transition. Funeral rites encompass complex symbols, behaviours, and beliefs, and include all the customs, rituals, and behavioural norms associated with the mourners' beliefs about death, the world after death, resurrection or reincarnation, and continued relationships between the dead and the living.

Death is human beings' biggest fear, unparalleled by anything else, as it is unavoidable, and whether there is life after death is unknown. Those left behind to face eternal separation from those who have died go through a time of deep sorrow

[1] There are many views on the origin of the Uzbeks, but it is commonly thought that they originated from a coalition of at least three types of tribes, such as the Dashti-kipchak nomad Uzbeks (who have migrated en masse to Central Asia in the beginning of 16th century, natives of Turkish descent that were absorbed by these Uzbeks, including the Chagathai and Oghuz Turks), the Turkish urban residents who have switched from the nomadic life to a domiciled lifestyle, and the Sarts. Everyone agrees that the Uzbeks originated from a coalition of Turkic tribes. However, it was only into the 20th century that the Uzbeks have established a shared identity as a nation. As such, the 'Uzbeks' referred to in this paper are the ancestors of the modern-day Uzbeks in contrast with the Yakuts. Moreover, the traditional funerals of the Uzbeks, as covered in this paper, focuses on the ethnographic data of the Khorezm and Fergana regions, which have been researched in more depth compared to other regions.

[2] Van Gennep 1960: 146. Van Gennep asserted that among the rites of passage in funerals the incorporation rites are the most important and complex. Among the rites of separation, duration, and incorporation, contrary to popular belief, the rites of separation are the most simple. Moreover, as the spirit of the dead become incorporated with the world of dead ancestors, the live relatives, through leaving and mourning, become re-incorporated to daily lives. In this regard, the rites of incorporation are the most important and complex. But the same evidence also shows that as the spirit leaves the dead body, it is 'separated' from life and the relatives of the dead are looked upon as 'unclean' beings who are thus separated from their daily lives. Therefore, there could not be incorporation rites without preceding separation rites. Moreover, all elements of funerals include the meanings of these three rites in varying degrees. Meanwhile, as this paper's purpose is to compare the traditional funerals of the Uzbeks and those of Yakuts in specific stages of death, washing and shrouding, mourning, carrying the body to the grave, burying, purification and ancestral rites, it points out that funerals are regarded as an amalgamation of these rites, but will not discuss them in depth.

and yearning for their loved ones. In this respect, traditional or religious funerals have so much authority because they alleviate personal grief and fear in a collective manner, and set limits for the moral and ethical obligations of the living to the dead. For this reason, religious or traditional funerals are very conservative rites, and attitudes toward death as expressed through the funerals are also bound to be conservative. Furthermore, funerals can be characterized as an interpretation of the afterlife and the meaning of death in terms of ontology, and as a ritual in the socio-political context. It is at a funeral where these two elements are revealed clearly and interactively. In this way, a funeral is an important ritual for identifying the regional characteristics of the Islam of Uzbeks as an ethnic group.

Islam was first brought to the region of modern-day Uzbekistan in the 7th century. Prior to the 7th century, Zoroastrianism was widespread for thousands of years in the Khorezm Province. Afrasiab, an ancient city in the northern regions of Samarkand, was named after a figure mentioned in the Avesta, the collection of sacred texts of Zoroastrianism. Moreover, Bukhara is a city built by ancient followers of Zoroastrianism, which surrounded the hill where the legendary hero Siyavush was buried. These factors show the influence of Zoroastrianism in this region. Other widespread religions in this region included traditional religions such as Animism or Shamanism, ancestor worship, as well as Buddhism,[3] Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and the common faith for the Old Turks, Tengrism.[4]

As a nation based on these existing religions, Uzbekistan is characterized by a predominantly Sufic Islam, and a majority of its Muslims are Sunnis, such as those in most regions of Central Asia. Sufism, an esoteric branch of Islam, respects traditional Islamic law, but rejects all formalities, and emphasizes inner awakening and esoteric interpretation of the Quran, focusing on the virtues of poverty, meditation, and abstinence. The reasons for the public spread of Sufism in Central Asia can be found not only in this religion's syncretism, but also in the similarities between esoteric Sufism and the traditional worldview of the nomadic Turks living in the Central Asian region.

[3] Among them, Buddhism has spread widely in Central Asia since the first century AD, and the Sogd region served as a hub for the spread of Buddhism until the fifth century. This was where Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese, and where missionaries were sent. Tokharistan became a new center for Buddhism beginning in the early seventh century, and Buddhism maintained its considerable influence until the eighth century, when Arabs entered this region along with Islam. However, Buddhist elements are not evident in Uzbek funerals.

[4] Tengrism is a common religion of the Turks where one supreme God, Tengri (meaning 'sky'), is worshipped. In Tengrism, Tengri oversees all matters of the world, determines individual fates and lifespans – not only that of nations – and bestows happiness and success as well as punishments. As such, no prophets or sacred texts serve as mediums between humans and God. The sky itself is Tengri and the house of God, and there are no temples or statues of God. Along with Tengri, Jer-Su (Йер-Су), meaning the earth and water, and the female God Umaj (Умай), the protector of children, are also important gods. Although Tengrism is a common religion and worldview of the Turks, which would have influenced traditional funeral rites, there is limited supporting evidence relating to specific elements of funerals. This paper does not place a strong emphasis on Tengrism, which may become a complex topic on its own.

Comparisons can be made between the details of the Turkic Uzbeks' funerals and the Persian Tajiks' funerals to identify the non-Islamic elements that survive within Uzbek funerals. Because the Uzbeks and the Tajiks are Muslims, and a number of their funeral elements are generally thought to be remnants of Zoroastrianism. However, as it has been more than a thousand years since Islam spread and became combined with elements from various religions, so the process of identifying which religion influenced which elements of the funerals is a complex process. As such, this paper aims to identify non-Islamic elements among the Uzbek traditional funerals by comparing elements of Uzbek traditional funerals and those of the Turkic Yakuts of northeastern Russia. Among many groups of Turks, the Yakuts were the only people who migrated further to the northeastern regions of Siberia, isolated themselves from the other Turk groups, maintained the remnants of the ancient common culture of the Turks,[5] and remained uninfluenced religiously and culturally by Zoroastrianism or Islam. Therefore, the commonalities that are found by comparing the traditional funerals of the Uzbeks and those of the Yakuts can be seen as neither Zoroastrian nor Islamic. This paper treats these common elements as those 'belonging to the Old Turks'.[6]

Moreover, to identify the non-Islamic elements of the Uzbek traditional funerals by comparing the Uzbek and Yakut traditional funerals, this paper will examine funerals based on evidence from ethnographic sources, according to stages of attending the deathbed, washing and shrouding, mourning, carrying the body to the grave, burial, purification and ancestral rites.

II. TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL BELIEFS OF THE UZBEKS AND THE YAKUTS

Humankind has long been considered a complex being of immortal spirit and temporary body, under the control of natural laws, and physical death was not considered synonymous with the complete end of a human being. Christianity and Islam maintained that after the death of the human body, the spirits are resurrected and are granted eternal life in the world of God; followers of ancient traditional religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and shamanism believe in a cycle of continuous reincarnation. These two basic spiritual beliefs do not have a contradictory or exclusive relationship in the formation of the traditional cultures and religious histories of other ethnic groups, but a hierarchical relationship, in that one is dominant and the other is secondary. Thus, one of these spiritual beliefs is predominantly exhibited at the funerals of a particular ethnic group, while the other can be observed to some degree.

[5] Алексеев и др. [Alekseev et al.] 2012: 40.

[6] In this context, 'ancient Turks' does not indicate a specific historical time range, but rather indicates the estimated time range within which the Turkish ancestors of Uzbeks and the Yakuts, with their cultural commonalities, lived in close geographical proximity with each other. However, as the ancestors of the Yakuts began to move northeast from near Baikal along the Lena River from 8th century AD, this time range represents a period that is at least before 8th century AD.

Like the other spiritual beliefs of many ethnic groups in the world, the spiritual beliefs of the Uzbeks dealt with more than two spirits, treating the soul (калб, жон) and the spirit (рух, арвох) differently. The concept of soul was less clear, and it was thought that the spirit could not be cut off from the world of the living, and thus it was closely related to funerals or ancestral rites. The spirits of the dead, in the Uzbeks belief system, are the beings that can leave the body and wander during sleep. When people die, their spirits stay in the house for forty days, after which they fly to the world of spirits, before returning to their houses to have a meal prepared for them at a memorial ceremony or religious anniversary. On these occasions, people leave their doors open and keep the lamps on the street lit, so that the spirits can find their way home easily. From the Animistic perspective, animals such as butterflies, birds, dogs, or cats were thought to be spirits visiting the house.[7]

The traditional spiritual beliefs of the Uzbeks are based on their fears that dead bodies or spirits could harm the living. For this reason, they covered the face of a dead person first, when he/she died, positioned a corpse so that the feet would be carried out of the house first, and ran to the grave when carrying a corpse so that they could be as far away from the house or village as possible. It was because they feared that the dead person might harm them if it saw their faces or returned to the house.[8] In addition to these customs, worshiping both the dead and other ancestors as a remnant of ancient pre-Islamic religions maintained. Under the influence of Islam, it transformed into Islamic saint worship, and the Uzbeks maintain the belief that the spirits of ancestors visit descendants every Thursday for forty days, or one year after their death.

Like the spiritual beliefs of Manchu-Tungusic tribes in the area[9], the Yakuts believed that there were three types of human spirits: 'iie kut' (ийэ кут, mother soul), a spirit born as a baby from a woman's body when a goddess makes contact with a man's head (the top of the head), 'bour kut' (буор кут, earth soul), a spirit from the earth when a baby is born, and 'salgyn kut' (салгын кут, air soul), a spirit from the air which arrives with a baby's first cry.[10] 'Salgyn kut' can roam while its

[7] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 114.

[8] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 117.

[9] Мазин [Mazin] 1984: 62. There are similar elements in funerals between the Yakuts and Evenki. But the Evenks, unlike the Yakuts, traditionally did not cry for the Dead in funerals. Not only the Yakuts, but also other Turkic peoples had the concept of multiple types of spirits. For example, the Tuvans had the concept of three types of spirits. Therefore, although we do not totally deny the mutual influence between the Yakuts and the Evenki, we can say that the Yakuts' traditional spiritual conception and elements of traditional funerals were not borrowed from the Evenki. See Львова и др. [Lvova et al.] 1988: 182.

[10] 'kut' is a common lexicon in the language of the Turks and carries various meanings such as soul, spirit, life, happiness, success, bountifulness, the authority of the Khan owing to the grace of god, and more. It also indicates the fate that Tengri, the highest god in Tengrism, which is a common faith for the Turks, bestows on humans. Contrary to the Yakuts, who use the word kut to indicate spirit, the Uzbeks use the word 'arvoh' (арвох), which has a strong connotation to the spirit of the ancestor and is solidified as a term that was closely linked to death.

human sleeps, and if caught by an evil spirit, its human may get sick or die. 'Buor kut' always stays near its human, and if caught by an evil spirit, its human may also get sick or die. Among them, 'iie kut' was considered a true spirit and harmless, because it did not leave its human body. Besides these three spirits, the Yakuts recognized another type of spirit, 'syur' (сюр), meaning the 'vitality and willpower of human beings', which was given to a child when it turned seven years old.[11] Among these several spirits, the main spirit 'iie kut' was involved in the process of reincarnation, and was believed to be reincarnated in another person three or seven years after a person had left his or her body.[12]

The Yakuts naturally perceived aging and death as a part of the life cycle, because they believed that human life was a path, beginning before human birth and continuing even after the death of human body. Thus, they coped with death quite comfortably. Based on this belief, death from old age in one's house was considered a 'good death', and death from illness or accident at an early age was a 'bad death', which was believed to have happened because a devil took the person's spirit. The spirits of those who had a 'good death' would leave for the world of the dead, where they would live in the same way they had lived in this world, help their descendants, or take advantage of opportunities to reincarnate. However, the spirits of the dead with a 'bad death' would not be accepted by God, and so would become evil spirits who stayed near the ones who had been close to them, bringing them misfortune or illness.

Like the Uzbeks, the Yakuts regarded a corpse as fearful and filthy from the moment a person breathed his/her last breath and died. Therefore, once a person died, they covered the face of the dead person with fur pelts or fabric, and positioned the corpse so feet would be carried out of the house first. It was because they feared that the dead person might harm them if it saw the faces around it, or returned to the house.[13]

This ambivalent attitude toward the dead in the traditional beliefs of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts – on the one hand hoping they have a happy afterlife, and on the other hand seeing the dead bodies as fearful and filthy – can be attributed to their pluralist beliefs with regard to spirits and death.

III. FUNERALS OF THE UZBEKS AND THE YAKUTS

1. Attending the Deathbed

The Uzbeks always keep the lamps lit and have two people in attendance at the deathbed. One of them moistens the dying person's lips with a piece of wet cotton, and the other recites passages from Islamic holy books. Female relatives usually attend the deathbed, and they avoid conversation as much as possible. In

[11] Бравина [Bravina] 1996: 74-76.
[12] Алексеев и др. [Alekseev et al.] 2012: 302.
[13] Бравина [Bravina] 1996: 98.

some areas, people release a bird from a dying person's bedside, or offer the dead its favourite twigs. As soon as the person breathes his/her last breath, the attendees tie the body's feet and jaw with mesh, and cover the body with white fabric.

Those who have witnessed the Uzbeks' deathbed ritual explain the actions of those in attendance as follows: the evil spirits' offer to quench the dying person's intense thirst in exchange for their spirits, which would then end up in hell, but by moistening the dying person's lips the evil spirits are repelled; not speaking at deathbeds stemmed from a belief that the dying would be hesitant to leave their bodies if they heard conversations.[14]

According to G. Snesarev, having two people attend the deathbed, with one giving water to the dying person and the other reciting prayers, is characteristic of Uzbek customs, which were believed to have been affected by Zoroastrianism. These behaviours are intended to protect the spirit of the dying, because the Uzbeks believe death is caused by an attack of Ahriman's evil power.[15] However, it is not clear that either Zoroastrianism or Islam influenced these Uzbek customs, because Islam teachings also involve reducing the dying person's thirst by giving them cold water, and avoiding loud crying or talking around the dying.

The key objective of attending an Uzbek deathbed is to help the dying meet their deaths more comfortably so that their spirits can leave quickly their bodies. According to Islam teachings, death is a test of a Muslim's capacity to accept the fate determined by the will of Allah. Furthermore, it is not the end of the life; but, rather a transition into a new phase of existence, i.e., resurrection, or transition to a truer life.[16] As a dying Muslim in peace depicted in Nalivkins' study[17], the Uzbeks accepted death with ease and calm, according to their Islam belief.

The Yakuts also embraced death, if it was natural and unavoidable, peacefully, with almost no fear, and because people prepared to depart this life before their deaths, the preparatory steps for death became an important part of the funeral process.

Once the Yakuts forebode one's imminent death, they prepared to bid farewell with the help of the dying person's relatives. Several items and offerings to be buried in the tomb and at the burial site were chosen beforehand. The dying person invited relatives and friends to a banquet prior to their death, served special foods, and gave away their clothes, dinnerware, or livestock. A new shroud was prepared in advance, and women sometimes washed their own bodies and changed into the shrouds before their deaths, thereby saving the living the burden of doing so after they died.[18]

After making these preparations for death, in their last moments the ties on the dying person's clothes were untied, and the women loosened their hair. All the

[14] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 389.
[15] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 131.
[16] Lapidus 1996: 149.
[17] Наливкин и Наливкина [Nalivkin and Nalivkina] 1886: 232.
[18] Серошевский [Seroshevsky] 1993: 594-595.

doors and windows were left open so that death could take place effortlessly, and the dying person's spirit could leave easily at the moment of death. Once the dying breathed their last breath, the Yakuts closed their eyes, placed a coin on them, and covered their face with a handkerchief, or marten or fox fur, because they believed that a corpse with its eyes or mouth open was a portent of another death in the house.[19]

The Yakuts believed that death occurred when the spirit left the body, and a living person was transformed into a dead person at the moment the face was covered with fabric or animal skin. At this moment, the body became a filthy scary thing.

Examples of non-Islamic elements in the Uzbek funerals include the followings: a dying person's face or chest is not positioned toward the right – the direction facing the Kaaba in Mecca, an Islamic holy place – but the body is simply laid face-up on the ground; female relatives typically attend the deathbed; birds are released; and tree twigs are offered to the dead. Of these practices, birds and trees are common elements worshipped by the Turks; birds can be viewed as a symbol of hope that the spirit will leave the body as quickly as a bird flies to the sky; and trees are the symbol of the World Tree serving as a ladder by which the spirit can ascend to heaven after leaving the body.

Attending the deathbed of the Yakuts, who believe the spirit reincarnates endlessly, is rather simpler. Both the living and the dying accept death calmly, and all they do is keep doors and windows open, loosen the ties on their clothes, and let down their hair, so that the spirit can fly away easily. The focus of attending a Yakut's deathbed is on the fear of dead bodies, and the preventing the potential of incurring harm from the dead.

2. Washing and Shrouding

In ancient times, the Uzbeks dug a hole in the earthen floor of the room, and then placed sticks and a mat on the spot used to wash and clothe a corpse. Stepping on the place for washing and shrouding, which was flattened and filled up with dirt, was forbidden by a taboo. As a precaution against another death (mourning) in the family, burnt sticks or stones were used to fill the hole.[20] The washing and shrouding consisted of the washing ritual, which involved pouring water over the corpse and washing it, and the shrouding process, which was usually performed by professional undertakers[21] with the help of relatives of the deceased.

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[19] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 177-178.

[20] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 133.

[21] The professional undertaker had different names in various regions, such as juvgichi (ювгичи) in the Tashkent region, pokchi (покчи) in the Kokand region, gassol (гассол) in Fergana region, and poshta (пошта) in the Surkhadarya region. This shows that the professional undertaker system is a widespread tradition. See Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 309; According to Nalivkins, in Fergana region the professional undertaker had another name – juguchi(югучй). See Наливкин и Наливкина 1886: 233.

The Uzbeks believed that the deceased departed from this world and went to the world after death, from the moment they were clothed with a kafan. The undertakers tailored the kafan, which was made from white cotton fabric. It was made using only one thread, and was sewn in the direction opposite to that of normal stitching, namely, sewing away from the sewer's body. Both ends of the thread were left unknotted, because it was believed that if the kafan were knotted up it would be a hindrance to the spirit entering the world after death, and the kafan was worn inside out.[22]

The Yakuts also washed and clothed the corpse with a shroud. They usually used new, and never worn, clothes. If new clothes were not available, a new shroud was tailored by sewing away from the sewer's body, without making a knot. They cleansed the shroud with smoke before clothing the corpse, and stitched up all the openings, including the sleeves and any openings that remained after clothing the corpse, and also closed any buttons and tied all the ties. This was a clear expression of mortality and acceptance that the dead could not be revived. Regardless of season, they clothed the shrouded corpse with a winter coat, fur hat, fur scarf, and gloves. Two or three holes were punched in the bottom of the footwear, so that the spirit could leave the body easily.[23]

The Uzbeks traditionally hired undertakers to wash and dress the corpse with a shroud called a kafan. Some washing and shrouding practice of the Uzbeks – attitudes toward the place of washing and shrouding, the direction and choice of knots used to sew the shroud, and rules of shrouding – are different from the washing and shrouding practices of Islam. Uzbeks' taboos for making shrouds are almost identical to those of the Yakuts. In particular, it is worth paying attention to the undertakers hired for the washing and shrouding. The professional undertakers of the Uzbeks – the lowest class and treated with contempt by society – lived separately from residential areas, their skills were handed down to their sons or daughters and they practiced endogamy. People were afraid of them and did not eat with them or talk to them. The undertakers ate from a separate plate and in a separate place, and were sometimes given the dinnerware, bedding, or personal items of the dead. Sometimes they were paid a sum of money for symbolically taking over all the sins committed by the dead.[24]

Snesarev viewed the professional undertaker system as the cultural inheritance of Zoroastrianism, in that the public attitudes toward this system and undertakers were similar to those of Zoroastrianism toward their servant class for the dead, and the system itself, that is, getting paid for taking responsibility for

[22] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 390-391.
[23] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 180.
[24] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 159-160.

other's sins, does not fit with Islam.[25] The ancient traditions of the Yakuts involved professional undertakers similar to those of the Uzbeks, and a big similarity is found in their social status or public attitudes toward them. In the ancient traditions of the Yakuts, the professional undertakers – called kiibes (киибэс) and belonging to a special class – took charge of carrying and burying a corpse. People avoided contact with them and refused to eat with them. They were called in only when they were needed to carry and bury a corpse.[26] The Yakuts also despised them and hired them for 'filthy' work'. The Yakuts prevented the undertakers from entering a house in which a child or sick person lived, and in the case of inevitable visits, they set a fire in front of the house to cleanse it. Gogolev described these ancient traditions of the Yakuts as being common customs of the Old Turks.[27] Thus, we believe that it is proper to view the professional undertaker system as a common element of the Old Turks, rather than as the influence of Zoroastrianism, in that such a system and public attitudes of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts toward it are very similar.

3. Mourning

The mourning, performed by Uzbeks as an expression of condolences in the mourners' house, functioned as an amplifier to commemorate the good deeds done by the deceased when alive, and to demonstrate public displays of grief by those nearest and dearest to the deceased. The Uzbeks hired a female professional mourner, called a 'go'yanda' (гўянда)[28], who specialized in mourning, to cherish the deceased, and female family members who had let their hair down performed a ritual called a 'sadr' (садр), in which all of them mourned loudly while slowly moving around in a circle. The sadr ritual was usually performed when the deceased died young.[29] Children of the deceased mourned loudly for three days after a funeral, and there was a custom in Fergana that involved having the children of the family gather to mourn for forty days.[30]

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[25] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 157, 165; Наливкин и Наливкина 1886: 233-234; See Хисматулин и Крюкова [Hismatulin and Kryukova] 1997: 42-43. The Tajiks had a custom that invites a professional undertaker for washing the dead body. If there was no professional undertaker, relatives washed the dead. The Tajiks considered that an adult Muslim man must not wash more than three dead bodies in his life. Washing more than three was not regarded as a religious well-doing, but as a professional undertaking. This shows that professional undertaking does not match with Islamic teaching.

[26] Павлинов [Pavlinov] 1929: 11.

[27] Гоголев [Gogolev] 1993: 123.

[28] Мелиоранский [Melioransky] 1899: 64. Kül Tegin's Memorial Complex (1st side 4th line) records that a foreign condolence delegation performed a ceremonial mourning (сыгыт, jуг). This shows that in the 8th century, mourning at the funeral had been a widespread tradition, at least among the highborns.

[29] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 390.

[30] Кармышева [Karmysheva] 1986: 149.

In the old days, the Yakuts also practiced a ritual (дьахтар ытатыы) where a female professional mourner would be summoned to mourn and commemorate the good deeds of the dead. Mourning for the dead was a common element of Turkic funerals.[31] However, a belief that has spread since the nineteenth century is that a drop of tears becomes a stone falling painfully on the deceased, after which the deceased will want to return to this world at the sound of mourning. Accordingly, crying loudly or expressing grief was explicitly prohibited at the funeral. These forbidden actions were already common among the Slavs and other European ethnic groups. In this respect, the Yakuts changing belief with regard to mourning seems to be the influence of the Russian culture.[32]

Islam instructs Muslims to refrain from expressing too much grief, but it does not completely prohibit the bereaved families from crying loudly. However, mourning in various forms, such as hiring a professional mourner, or having women with their hair down perform a mourning ritual in a circle dance, has nothing to do with Islam. Mourning in various forms, especially hiring a professional mourner, can be viewed as a common custom of Turks since it occurs in traditional funerals of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts.

4. Carrying the Bier out of the House

The Uzbeks carried a corpse out of the house through a window, not through the door. This is an old custom, which is understood to mean that life is as short as if it came through the door and left right away. They normally positioned the body so the head of the corpse was facing forward when it was being carried out, and this is explained by the view that the head of the deceased leaves this world first, just as the head came out first when they were born.[33] According to Snesarev, meanwhile, in the past a corpse was carried out with its feet first, so that the dead could not see the entryway to the house.[34] It is believed that this change in direction is a variation of the Old Turks' ancient customs due to the influence of Islam.[35]

A stretcher called a 'tabut' was used to carry a corpse to the cemetery, and traditionally there was a walking funeral procession to the burial plot. The tabut was carried by the sons of the deceased first, after which the male relatives or other male attendees of the funeral sometimes provided help, because carrying a tabut for more than seven steps was considered a good deed that God loves. If the grave was far from the house, however, a corpse was sometimes carried on a contrivance.[36]

Reciting 'janazah', a prayer for the deceased to rest in peace, is an essential Uzbek' element of carrying a bier out of the house. Janazah was recited either in

[31] Дьяконова [Dyakonova] 1975: 155.
[32] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 186-187.
[33] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 391-392.
[34] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 114.
[35] Shiite Muslims and Shia Muslims, including the Tajiks, carry the body out of the house head first. See Хисматулин и Крюкова [Hismatulin and Kryukova] 1997: 82, 84.
[36] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 392.

the house or in the mosque, and, when praying, the face of the deceased was turned toward Kaaba in Mecca. Here, unlike normal prayer times, the attendees prayed while standing, without bowing. The attendees were given a piece of fabric or a small towel, meaning that they shared the sins of the deceased, in the form of small pieces of fabric. And in some areas money, including coins was dropped on the tabut. This is considered a variation of burying coins as grave goods in the funerals in ancient times.[37] Just as the tabut is carried only by men, only the men recited the janazah.

Another important ritual in Uzbek funerals, called 'davra', takes place before burial. This ritual offers atonement redemption for the deceased's sin, such as missing prayers or dishonouring the pillars not giving property away to the poor. This davra ritual can be viewed as an Islamic rite, because of its similarity to the fidiya ritual, in which the living make a promise of atonement redemption for the sins of the dead before Mulla of Islam in Central Asia. This ritual is also criticized for being contrary to Islamic teachings, because it can be an excuse for the relatives to share the possessions of the deceased.

In ancient times, the Yakuts buried the corpse as quickly as possible, and as previously stated, the Kiibes (Киибэс), or the men of other houses, carried the corpse. As time passed, it became common to carry a corpse out in three days. They carried a corpse out feet first to prevent the dead from seeing the way out of the house for fear that the dead might return home and harm the living.[38] This is the same reason the eyes and face of a corpse are covered. A coffin was moved to the grave on a bull-pulled sled, followed by families and relatives carrying belongings of the deceased. Two or three additional good horses followed, carrying the rest of the deceased person's belongings.

Among the Uzbek' behaviours involved in the carrying out process there are non-Islamic elements. These include carrying a corpse out through the window, not through the door, carrying a corpse out of house with its feet first, and putting money on the tabut. In the funerals of the Old Turks it was common to have a corpse carried out of house, not through the entrance door, but through a temporary exit prepared by rolling up the side of the yurt (tent), and to position the legs of a corpse so that the body would exit feet first. The Yakuts' carrying out process was performed in the same way.

5. Burial

It was a common view among Uzbeks that the dead must be buried as soon as possible, before their tongues stiffened, so that they could answer the questions they would be asked about their religious lives by Munkar and Nakir, the angels who judged the dead.[39] Burying immediately after one's death is not an only

[37] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 391.
[38] Брокгауз и Ефрон [Brockhaus and Efron] 1992: 39.
[39] Кармышева [Karmysheva] 1986: 140.

Islamic element, even though a corpse was buried in Islam as soon as possible, and Munkar and Nakir are the angels who appear in Islamic mythology. In this regard, Snesarev considered these practices as having originated from Zoroastrianism, where a corpse was considered filthy and harmful to those around it, and thus must be buried as soon as possible.[40]

The Uzbeks built house-type and aboveground tombs on the graves. The majority of the tombs were the sagona type, an aboveground structure with a small square window, typical of Central Asia. There are several explanations given for the window, other than for ventilation purposes.[41]

Unlike funerals in the nomadic steppe region meanwhile, the old custom of burying bodies together with everyday items disappeared early from the funerals in the sedentary oases' region. Burying together was possible when a corpse was buried in the ground, but in the sedentary oases region it was common practice not to bury a corpse, but rather to store the remains in a porcelain or clay pot, called an 'ossuary', hundreds of years before the advent of Islam.[42]

One of the characteristics of the Uzbek graveyard is the house of the spirits, set up with two or three bricks near the grave. It is called the 'arboh o'y' (арвоҳ ўй), which means the house of the spirits, and also the 'makcham' (макчам), in some areas of Uzbekistan. It was also believed that if it collapsed, the angry ancestors would make their descendants sick, and if properly built, they would help their descendants live well.[43] Horses always appeared in the ancient burial rituals of the ancestors of modern Uzbeks as a means of transport for the deceased to use when leaving for, and staying in, the world after death. They also took responsibility for the sins of the deceased.[44]

In ancient times, as with other Turkic ethnic groups such as the Tuvans, the Yakuts buried a corpse as soon as possible. If a person died at night, they carried the corpse out of house before sunrise, and tried to bury it as quickly as possible.[45] As the Russian Orthodox Church was brought into the region, the custom of burying a corpse within three days of the death was established. The Yakuts had several types of ancient burial practices: burying a sick elderly person alive or leaving such an individual in a hole in the forest until they starved to death, cremation by leaving a corpse inside and setting the house on fire, having the families move away, conducting a woodland burial whereby the deceased was buried under the tree designated by them before death, placing a corpse in a cabin called the 'arangas' (аранғас), and leaving a corpse in the field.[46] They usually

[40] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 116.
[41] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 110.
[42] Рапопорт [Rapoport] 1971: 23-24.
[43] Тайжанов и Исмаилов [Tayzhanov and Islamov] 1980: 88.
[44] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 391.
[45] Дьяконова [Dyakonova] 1975: 53.
[46] Серошевский [Seroshevsky] 1993: 597-599.

buried a corpse in the ground after the Russians arrived in the seventeenth century. Traditionally the graves were built facing west on high exposed ground; by laying the corpse with the head facing west it could watch the sunrise in the east. This type of burial reflects the ancient worldview that the world after death was to be found in the direction of the sunset; it was hoped that the spirit would reincarnate as the sun rose.

A characteristic of traditional Yakut graves was the custom of setting up a 'serge' (сэргэ) – a wooden pillar with a groove on the upper part, and a variety of geometric patterns engraved on the bottom – in the west or northwest part of the gravesite. The serge functioned as a divider between this world and the world after death, as well as a fence around the grave.[47]

In addition to the serge that had been set up next to the grave, the Yakuts buried a horse or a reindeer together with the corpse as an offering. When a horse was used as an offering to the deceased, it was intended to be used as a ride and source of food on the way to the world after death. Items used for daily life and hunting, such as swords, bows and arrows, fire starters, or sewing pouches, were smashed and buried together, so that these items could not be used by the living, but they could be used by the dead, in one piece, because it was believed that everything in the world after death was opposite to how it was in this world.

Another characteristic was the 'mene' (мэнэ) – a wooden memorial and a sort of 'house of the spirits', for the spirits to live in – placed in the grave at the first anniversary of the death. It was believed that once the mene was placed, the spirits of the dead would find rest, and would cease to roam and harm those who had been close to them. After this, the fear of the dead was eased, and the last link between the living and the dead was believed to have been severed.[48]

Among the elements of a traditional Yakut funeral is a distinctive ritual in which a corpse takes its farewell of this world. In this ritual, the Yakuts made a corpse stand up and bow, usually toward the east, when arriving at the burial plot. Here, the ritual performers said 'take leave of the living, sun, and this world', or, 'do not have a grudge when leaving', and 'forgive us as we forgive you'.[49] After that, they lowered the coffin into the grave, smashed the tools used to make the grave, such as the shovels and axes, along with the sled used to carry the corpse, and then discarded them near the grave. The burial ritual ended after they circled the grave three times on horseback, to say farewell.

In ancient times, the Uzbeks and the Yakuts buried a corpse as soon as possible. This practice was common among the Old Turks, as it was in Zoroastrianism and Islam. Therefore, it cannot be viewed as irrelevant to Islam, because the Uzbeks retained these practices under the influence of Islam. For the Yakuts, influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church, the practice of burying a

[47] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 29, 31.
[48] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 195.
[49] Худяков [Hudyakov] 1969: 295-296.

corpse three days after death was established. According to the Sharia of Islam, a corpse must be buried in the ground to prevent animals from damaging it, and it could be laid in an aboveground facility only if this were unavoidable.[50] Thus, the Uzbeks built aboveground facilities on the burial spot after they buried corpses in the ground. Although 'arboh uii' – the house of the spirits – and 'sagona' – the Uzbeks' tomb built on the ground – are different from those of the Yakuts, namely 'mene' and 'arangas' respectively, in terms of materials and structures their basic functions and meanings are the same. The house of the spirits can be viewed as non-Islamic elements because the house of the spirits is non- Islamic. It is also uncertain whether these commonly originated from the Old Turks or not.

The purpose of the horses appearing in traditional Uzbek burial rituals is to allow the deceased to use them on their way to the world after death, and even when staying in the world. It has the same meaning as that associated with the Yakuts sacrificing a horse or reindeer as an offering. However, horses in the ancient Uzbek rituals, related to the 'davra' ritual, also had a meaning of atonement for the sins of the dead. In this case, sacrificing a horse during the burial rites is applicable to non-Islamic elements.

6. Purification

The Uzbeks believed that the mourner's house was unsanitary. Accordingly, a purification ritual was performed in the house for three days. Immediately after the carrying out they swept and wiped the floor where the corpse had laid, and lighted an oil lamp every night for forty days. While this oil lamp was burning, the family recited a prayer. The herb of grace was burned, to make the house smell pleasant, and because they believed the herb repelled evil spirits. The blankets or clothes used when carrying the corpse were hung in the open-air windows for three days and nights, to cleanse them with the celestial lights of the sun, the moon, and the stars.[51]

Visiting the house where a corpse was laid was taboo, especially for young women. They were not allowed to visit the mourners' house while their relatives and neighbours condoled the bereaved family.[52] Based on the belief that a corpse was unsanitary and might contaminate the surrounding areas, people avoided having food in the room where a corpse lay, and ate only foods brought by their relatives or neighbours, because cooking was prohibited in the mourners' house for up to three days, depending on region.[53]

The Yakuts never spent the night in the house where a corpse was laid, for fear of the dead, and instead often slept in the backyard with bonfires, and sometimes in the snow during a funeral. They sometimes burned down the tent house in which a person had died. They were afraid to live in the tent, or even to

[50] Хисматулин и Крюкова [Hismatulin and Kryukova] 1997: 77.
[51] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 393.
[52] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 127.
[53] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 392.

walk past it. Even entering the house where a corpse was laid was regarded as a misfortune and a sin.[54] From the moment death took place, the house and the family of the dead were treated as 'filthy objects', based on the belief that death means evil spirits eat human beings.

Such 'filthy persons' should not touch hunting or fishing tools, nor go out hunting or fishing until a new moon rose, because it was believed that they would harm other's hunting or fishing. The 'filthy person' spoke to their neighbour after knocking on their window, without entering their house, even when visiting on business. When the 'filthy person' left, their neighbour purified the spot where they had been standing with fire, by throwing hot coals on the spot.[55] Before returning home following the burial, and cleaning the tomb area, everyone circled around the grave three times in the opposite direction from the paths of the sun, to completely sever the link between this world and the world after death for the last time. They did not look back when returning home, because they believed that the spirit of the dead might follow them. When they were fairly far away from the grave, they placed three twigs from a young birch tree across the street as a symbol representing the separation of the world of the dead from the world of the living. When they got close to their houses, they made a bonfire in front of the house and burned the wood scraps left over from building the coffin, and the animal bones that remained from the offering made at the grave. Then, those who participated in the purification rituals circled the bonfire three times, slapped each others' backs with the switches of a willow tree, and followed a final purification ritual – crossing a small bonfire – before entering their houses.[56]

Such Uzbek funeral practices are common elements found in the Old Turks, as well as non-Islamic act, based on the belief that death is filthy and the dead are scary objects: for example, carrying a corpse out while avoiding the door, carrying the body out while ensuring feet left the house first, and running to the grave and returning as quickly as possible when carrying out. Other taboos against corpses and also against the families, who were also regarded as filthy for a certain period of time, are non-Islamic elements. In addition, keeping a lamp lit at a deathbed and for a further three days after carrying the corpse out can also be considered a non-Islamic element. This is because most Uzbeks are Sunni Muslims, who never leave a lamp lit, unless it is a religious death, unlike the Shiites.[57] Thus, it can be viewed as the influence of Zoroastrianism, whose adherents also kept a lamp lit for three days after death, for the spirit of the dead. The prohibition of cooking in the mourners' house, which is another influence of Zoroastrianism, can be interpreted as an attempt to prevent the 'filthy people' from desecrating fire through contact with it.

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[54] Серошевский [Seroshevsky] 1993: 559-560.
[55] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 181.
[56] Бравина [Bravina] 2005: 188.
[57] Хисматулин и Крюкова [Hismatulin and Kryukova] 1997: 59.

The number three, meanwhile, draws attention with regard to the funerals. The Uzbeks raised and lowered a corpse before taking it out on the tabut, when carrying out, and they performed purification rituals for three days after the carrying out. They also cleansed the covers and clothes used for carrying out with celestial lights for three days, and did not make food in the mourner's house for three days. For the Yakuts, the number of times they circled the grave after the burial, the number of birch tree twigs they placed on the street when returning home, and the number of times they circled the bonfire as a purification ritual in front of their houses are all three. Zoroastrianism also taught that the bereaved must wash their bodies three times, wash their clothes, and pray three times to purify themselves. Thus, the belief that the number three has a meaning of completion, and the power to repel evil things existed in both the pre-Islamic Eastern and Western cultures.

7. Ancestral rites

The Uzbeks performed ancestral rites on the 3rd, 7th, 20th, and 40th days, as well as the first anniversary after death. The children of the deceased mourned loudly in the backyard every morning for the first three days after the funeral, and on the 3rd and the 7th days after death, female family members in mourning dress mourned and practiced a ritual washing of the clothes of the relatives who had stayed at the mourner's house for the previous three days. On the 7th day, they slaughtered sheep to make lamb soup and 'plov'. They shared the food, along with flatbread 'non' and porridge. They also made plov on the 20th day. On the 40th day, female family members – mothers, spouses, sisters, daughters, and daughters-in-law of the deceased – who had been staying in the mourner's house performed a ritual mourning, and then returned to their homes. If a person died young, the 'sadr' rite was also performed on that day, by having female family members dance in a circle.[58]

The Uzbeks believed that the spirits of the dead visited their houses every Thursday for forty days, or one year, so people prepared for these visits. They cleaned their houses, left the front gates open, and kept the lamps lit, so that the spirits could find their way home. They grilled 'bo'g'irsoq' (бўғирсоқ), small bread with varied shapes, for the spirits, because they believed hungry spirits might harm the living. They believed the spirits ate the smell of that bread.[59] As part of the first anniversary rite, they also slaughtered sheep as an offering, and shared the plov. Female family members mourned for the deceased for the last time, performed a finishing mourning ritual, and took off their mourning dresses. An elderly female member covered the heads of the female relatives with a brightly coloured towel, which symbolized the end of mourning, after which female family members were allowed to attend other family events such as weddings, and to wear accessories.[60]

[58] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 393-394.
[59] Снесарев [Snesarev] 1969: 117-118.
[60] Абашин и др. [Abashin et al.] 2011: 394.

The Yakuts believed that for forty days after their death, the dead travelled around to all the places they had visited when they were alive, collecting their remains, which included hair and nails, to recover some of their life force, which had been consumed during their lifetime, and returned to the place of their origin and reincarnation.[61] Therefore, they regarded this forty-day period as important, and performed ancestor rites on the 40th day and on the first anniversary. They prepared food for the deceased and placed it on a separate table, after which they threw it away. The main ritual involved making the 'mene' – the house of the spirits – on the first anniversary. The Yakuts offered food to their ancestors, who were believed to visit on their biggest holiday, the 'Yhyakh' festival.

With the adoption of the Russian Orthodox Church, the spirit's journey became more segmented, and the Yakuts came to believe that the spirits travelled the nether world until the 9th day after the funeral. They travelled everywhere they had been during their lifetimes, from the 9th to the 20th day, and then travelled to the upper world until the 40th day. Accordingly, they have performed ancestral rites on the 9th, 20th, and 40th days after a funeral since the nineteenth century. However, 'Parents' Day' – the memorial rite of the Russian Orthodox Church – was not adopted. Even to the present time, visiting graves is considered a sin that disturbs the dead. Thus, only the elderly visit the graves before death, to make their farewells to those who died before them.[62]

Undisputedly, the most significant ancestral rites of both Uzbeks and Yakuts are the ones performed on the 40th day and the first anniversary after death. Apart from the issues regarding their origin, these two ancestral rites cannot be viewed as only an Islamic element, because they were the most significant ancestral rites of both Islam and the Old Turks. With regard to the forty days after death, in Uzbek beliefs it was considered the length of the spirit's stay in this world before setting out for the world after death. In the Yakuts beliefs this period, unlike those of the Uzbeks, was believed as a time both for revisiting all the places where the dead had been in one's life and for collecting some of the life force consumed during their lives. The purpose of these two activities during the period is to prepare better for reincarnation. It seems that this meaning disappeared from the Uzbek beliefs due to the influence of Islam.

Unarguably, the most important practice of both Uzbek and Yakut ancestral rites was to prepare food as offerings to the spirits. The Uzbeks grilled 'bo'g'irsoq' for the spirits, and believed they ate the smell of the bread. The Yakuts set a separate table for the spirits, and the foods prepared for the spirits were discarded after the ancestral rite had been completed, because they believed those foods were leftovers from the spirits. The Uzbeks' food preparations and treatment of the spirits on holidays or Thursday nights related to Islam, but the act of offering food to spirits is basically a non-Islamic element. Offering food to the spirits, despite

[61] Алексеев и др. [Alekseev et al.] 2012: 306.

[62] Бравина и Попов [Bravina and Popov] 2008: 245-246.

their differences in frequency and type, became an important part of both Uzbek and Yakut ancestral rites, which stemmed from the descendants' thoughtful behaviour toward their ancestors, along with the belief that the spirits of the dead maintained a relationship with the living, while carrying on with life in the world after death.

IV. CONCLUSION

Islam in Central Asia is characterized by the amalgamation of regional traditional customs and religions over many years. Thus, determining whether a particular element is Islamic, or whether it originated from pre-Islamic traditions, is an important task for the study of Islam practices in Central Asia. It becomes an integral part in search of ways to resolve some tensions and conflicts, which can occur in the process of establishing Islamic and national identities together with the revival of Islamic and national traditions in post-Soviet Central Asia, in particular.

In general, the non-Islamic elements, which have blended into the funeral practices of the Uzbeks, are being explained as the remnants of the long-held Zoroastrianism in pre-Islamic Central Asia.

By comparing the funerals of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts, the non-Islamic elements of the Uzbek funerals are identified in this paper. The Yakuts retain most of the Old Turkic elements, because the Yakuts, also a Turkic ethnic group, have been isolated from other Turkic ethnic groups since their migration to northeastern Siberia, and little has been known about relationships between traditional Yakut rites and either Zoroastrianism or Islam.

In comparison, the traditional spiritual beliefs of the Uzbeks and the Yakuts were examined, and their funeral practices compared in six steps: attending the deathbed, washing and shrouding, mourning, carrying out, burial, purification and ancestral rites. In traditional Uzbek spiritual beliefs, humans have two spirits; they can leave the body and roam during sleep and, after death, they depart from the body, stay in this world for forty days, and then fly to the world of the spirit. The dead bodies or spirits were taboo, because people believed they could harm the living. Such spiritual beliefs and attitudes toward a corpse are non-Zoroastrian and can be viewed as common elements of the Old Turks, rather than non-Islamic elements, because of their similarity to traditional Yakut beliefs.

Some funeral practices of the Uzbeks are the same as those of Zoroastrianism and Islam; two attendees at the deathbed, with one giving water to the dying person and the other reciting a prayer. Other practices, such as positioning the corpse, female attendees at the deathbed, and the appearance of birds or trees, are non-Islamic elements. The Yakuts did not see death as a painful process, because they believed it was one-step in the endless reincarnation process. Thus, they focused on preventing any malevolent influences from the dead at the moment of death. On the other hand, the Uzbeks saw death – a moment of separation between body and

spirit – as an extremely painful moment. This belief seems to be the influence of Islam.

Non-Islamic elements observed in the Uzbek washing and shrouding rituals included the professional undertaker system to wash and dress a corpse with a hand-made shroud or 'kafan', the attitude towards the washing and shrouding place, and the taboo on the shroud knots and sewing directions. Sometimes the attitude towards the washing and shrouding place and the professional undertaker system are viewed as the influence of Zoroastrianism, but it cannot be said that such practices are definitely influenced by Zoroastrianism, because similar practices also appeared in the Yakut traditions.

Crying in response to the death of the nearest and dearest is not prohibited in Islam. However, hiring a professional mourner, and mourning by female family members dancing in a circle, are non-Islamic elements. In particular, hiring a mourner appeared in the Yakut customs as well, and thus it can be viewed to have originated from the common customs of the Old Turks.

While the 'janazah' recitation and the 'davra' practice performed when a corpse is carried out in Uzbek funerals are Islamic elements, other practices are non-Islamic: carrying a corpse out not through the door but through the window, carrying a corpse out of the house with its feet first, and placing money on a 'tabut' when carrying a corpse to the grave. Further, the Uzbeks bury a corpse in 'sagona' – a tomb on the ground – whereas Islam teaches burying a corpse in the ground. In addition, building a house for spirits near the graveyard, and burying a horse in ancient times as an offering, are also non-Islamic elements. In the Yakut traditions, there was a custom of making a house for the spirits and sacrificing a horse or reindeer as an offering. The custom of burying the corpse together with various tools in the Turkic traditions of the Uzbeks disappeared, due to the influence of Islam.

The taboos or actions taken in Uzbek funerals to be as far away as possible from a corpse or the family of the corpse were based on the belief that death is filthy and a corpse is scary, similar to those of Yakut funerals. These can be viewed as common elements of the non-Islamic Old Turks. However, keeping a lamp lit in the mourner's house, or prohibiting cooking, can be viewed as the influence of Zoroastrianism. Meanwhile, the most salient non-Islamic element in the Uzbek ancestral rites is offering food to the spirits, and such food offerings are the main part of Yakut ancestral rites as well. This is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead continue to live in the world after death, as they did in this world, and continue to interact with the living in this world. Thus, it is different from the Islamic belief that the dead is resurrected at the judgment after death and lives eternally in heaven.

As discussed earlier, there are more than a few non-Islamic elements among several components of Uzbek funerals. The comparison of the Uzbek funerals with the Yakut funerals, contrary to the general view that these are the remnants of Zoroastrianism, shows us that the common beliefs and ritual elements of the Old

Turks are also maintained to a significant extent. Therefore, further studies are needed to examine what the traditional religions and worldviews of the Turks have in common, to identify the characteristics of Central Asian Islam in more detail.[63]

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[63] This work was supported by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund (corresponding author: **p**rof. Lee JongOh, santon@hufs.ac.kr).

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SAY BODY MOVEMENTS, DON'T CALL IT DANCE: LAMENTATION RITUAL CEREMONIES IN DASHTESTAN IN SOUTHERN IRAN

MOHAMMAD R. AZADEHFAR, MARYAM SHAHRIARI

ABSTRACT

Dance and lamentations stand against each other in the mind of people. In other words, in most societies dance is mostly related to cheerful ceremonies much more than they are used for grief and sorrowful times. In Dashtestan, southern province of Iran by the Persian Gulf, people perform dance ceremonies in case of martyrdom and death of young members of the society. Even though one culturally does not allow to call such ceremony "dance". This study tries to examine two main issues: "why music of this region is considered sorrowful" and "what is the structure of lamentation ceremonies with regards to songs and body movements". The findings of this study revealed that most songs performed in Dashdetan are sorrowful due to several disasters people of this region experienced over last centuries, including famine, wars and earthquakes. The most distinguished song genres of this region in lamination ceremonies is called is *Sharveh*. Body movements in lamentation ceremonies contain special patterns of feet and hand movements. Ceremonies performed in groups as in circle dances. Lamentation singing is a prestigious way of singing in this region. The men and women ceremonies are performed separately in different venues and men are not allowed to present and observe women ceremonies while presenting women to which men ceremonies are permitted. We examine both men and women ceremonies in this article, illustrating the patterns of body movements, lyrics and song structures within the cultural context.

Keywords: Dashtestan music; Dashtestan songs; Bushehri songs; music in South Iran; songs in south Iran.

INTRODUCTION

Dashtestan is a city situated in south Iran in the province of Bushehr by the Persian Gulf which is home to various music genres and ritual performances manly used in lamentations ceremonies. Dashtestan is an extremely hot and dried place. People of this region faced various disasters in their history and for this reason most of their ceremonies and ritual practices relate directly or indirectly to their difficult life. People of this region experienced several wars in their history and still suffer from drought, health and education short services and many other problems in their villages and towns.

Music and songs have a very important role in the life of people in south part of Iran, particularly in Bushehr province. For this reason study of music of this region attracted the attention of several insider and outsider researchers. Most of the studies focused on the music and songs of the city of Bushehr particularly religious songs. However, there have been very few studies in music of Dashtestan.

CULTURAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

In a broad view, Dashtestan region can be divided to three distinguished areas known to the people as "Northern", "Central" and "Mountains" districts.

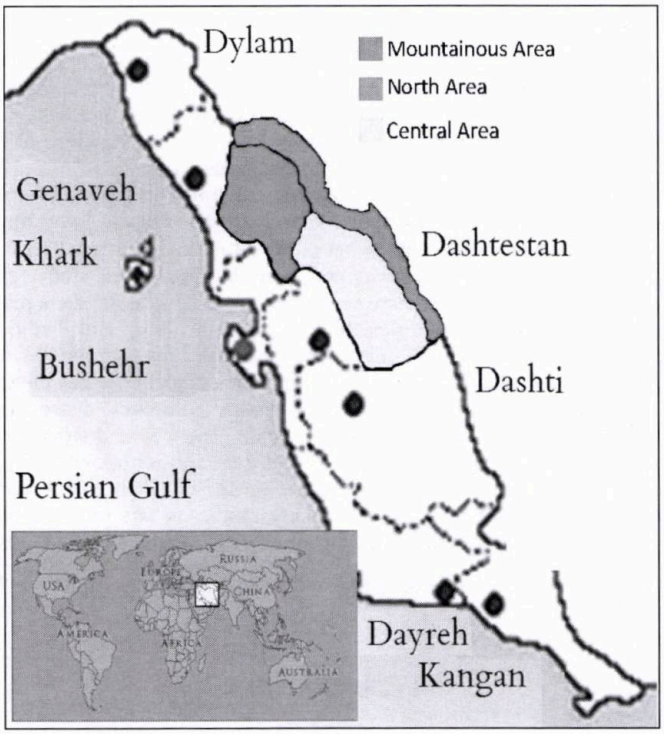


Fig. 1 – Map of Dashtestan situated in Bushehr province in South Iran

SONGS AND MUSIC GENRES OF DASHTESTAN

Main genres of songs in Dashtestan include: *Sharvekhāni*, *Beytkhāni*, *and Shurekhāni*. Adding to this list there are songs which are performed in particular villages of Dashtestan. The most popular songs sung in various villages are *Bidegāni*, *Shahnāmekhāni*, *Nezāmīkhāni*, *Masnavīkhāni* and some songs in Lori dialect such as *Hashkaleh* and *Elmān*.

Among the various songs of Dashtestan, *Sharvekhāni* is considered to be the most important genre of this region and is sung in various forms such as *Dashtestanī, Shabankāre'i, Ghamūne'i* (also known as *Borāzjānī*), *Ali kal-hossein, Hodā kamālī*, and *Kal karam kuhestānī*.

The North part of the Dashtestan which includes the *Shabānkāreh* and *Sa'dābād* have attracted many immigrants from Lurish part of the Iran including the *Kohkilūeh* and *Boyerahmad*. For this reason one can find several Luri songs in this part of Dashtestan including and *Yāryār, Elmān, Aqā Abūzar, Hashkaleh*. The most distinguished song of this region is *Bidegāni*. Adding to this song there are some other songs which shared with many other places in Dashtestan including: *Sharvekhāni, Beytkhāni, Shurekhāni Shahnāmekhāni, Nezāmīkhāni, and Masnavīkhāni*.

Borazjan is the most important city of the Central part of Dashtestan. *Sharvekhāni* is considered to be the most important genre of Borazjan. As mentioned above, *Sharvekhāni* is sung in various forms and in Borazjan it is mostly performed in forms called *Ghamūne'i* and *Hodā kamālī*. *Ghamūne'i* is a very sad song which is particularly very popular in the central part of Dashtestan and has been taken from the *shūrekhāni* of women in lamentation ceremonies. This form of song in local dialect is called *Reygulī*.

The mountains area consists of two parts namely Eram and Bushkān. Songs in mountains part of Dashtestan differ significantly from the other two parts. This difference is due to dominance of Turkish tribe of Ghashghā'i in this area. Nature is the most important theme of the songs performed by the people of mountains in Dashtestan. Some cheerful songs performed in this area includes Gol Sūsanī and Nāmesh neyūmad.

Althrough there is a number of cheerful songs in the mountain part of Dashtestan, most songs performed in Dashtestan are sorrowful due to several disasters people of this region experienced over the last centuries, including famine, wars and earthquakes. In centre of that is *Sharveh* as the most distinguished song genres of this region. Interestingly, people also welcome the singers who can sing the songs in most sorrowful way. In other words, lamentation singing is a prestigious way of singing in this region.

LAMENTATIONS AND SONGS OF SORROW

The lamentation ceremony of *'Āshūrā*[1] is the most important ritual performance in this region and several other places in Iran. Normally several symbolic rituals are observed along with the lamentation songs such as *sīneh-zanī* (breast beating), *zanjīr-zanī* (chain beating), *sang-zanī* or *karbzan* (stone beating), and *qameh-zanī* (dagger beating) (Azadehfar 2011: 63).

[1] The ceremony is a lamentation rite for the martyrdom of Imam Ḥoseyn (the Prophet Mohammed's grandson) in Karbala' (Iraq) some thirteen centuries ago. This ceremony takes place over ten days, and the ninth and tenth days, the day before martyrdom and the day of martyrdom called *Tāsū'ā* and *'Āshūrā* respectively, are the most significant. Imam Ḥoseyn is one of the most distinguished religious figures in Iran and many other Shi'ite countries.

In the lament the wailing melody is normally sung by a solo singer (the principal mourner) and is responded to by the chorus of breast beaters, chain beaters, etc. with their very precise and special body movements. The accompaniment of instruments is not essential but depends on the region; folk or traditional instruments may accompany the singer and group of performers, usually wind instruments and percussion, particularly drums and cymbals.

The lamentation songs can be performed at mosques, community centres, homes where neighbours gather, at street rallies and so forth. Only men participate in practice and women attend as observers of this lamentation rituals. Women may perform their ritual in private where no man can attend or observe. The performance looks like a circle group dance. The singer (known as *nuḥekhān*) stands in the middle, mostly on top of a podium, and performers make several circles around him. Every performer holds the belt of his next performer by his left hand and uses his right hand for breast beating. The performers step around the singer by special polyrhythmic movements of hands, feet and back. In this article we will also describe some women lamentation ceremonies accompanied by special body movements performed in the events of youth deaths.

In Dashtestan the lamentation song is not usually accompanied by any instrument. In some performances a local drum called *dammām* may accompany the performance particularly in rally performances outside the mosques (traditionally for organizers of the ceremony it is somehow unaccepted to let the musical instruments in a mosque).

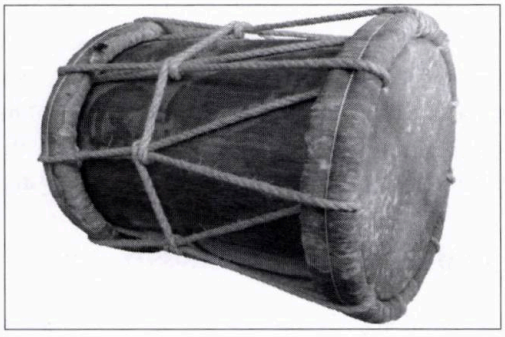


Fig. 2 – *Dammām*, a membranophone instrument played with sticks of different sizes

THE SONGS' CONTENTS

The content of the lamentation songs of this ceremony mostly includes three various issues:

- The prize of brave companions of imam in their battle with enemy;
- The stories regarding the incident of *'Āshūrā* battle;
- The grief of martyrdom of imam and his companions.

According to singer's ability and styles songs may present in local dialect or in Farsi. Local people who participate as breast beaters are usually familiar with the songs and know exactly which verse should be repeated as response to the solo singer and when to present it. Even if the singer create and present a new poem in his songs, accompanying people will shortly catch their part in the new song.

THE BODY MOVEMENT

Men Lamentation Ceremonies

The lamentation ceremony among Shi'a Muslims in nearly every part of the world includes body movement particularly during breast beatings and chain beatings. In Bushehr province, the body movement in ceremony of breast beating is performed in turning circles. In this ceremony the solo singer stays in the centre of the circle, most often at the top of a podium, and the chorus of the breast beaters make circles around him. Making the circle of breast beaters takes place gradually and in three different phases in the way described follows.

At the beginning of the ceremony the solo singer stays at the centre of the hall and starts his performance. The first circle of the breast beaters gather in rear distance from him and make a ring as wide as possible around him. A person with an established character from the society works as conductor of arranging cycles of the breast beaters in well-organized and precise shape. This person is called *bursāz* in local dialect. By the time the first ring established completely the *bursāz* attempt selecting the best performers among them to make the second ring inside the first ring. The people who arrive later, will join the first ring and may invited in inside rings later on. The *bursāz* continues making circles around the singer until the last ring gets very close to the singer, consisting the most established breast beaters and elderlies. The steps of making rings around the singer are seen in following figure.

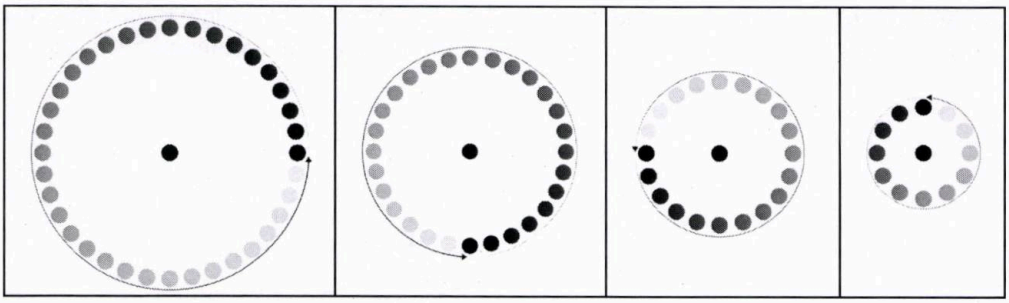


Fig. 3 – The steps of establishing of the circles of breast beaters around the solo singer.

The participants in the rings move anticlockwise around the singer while having body movement and breast beatings. The performance of breast beaters changes according to the rhythmic structure of the song and can be divided in two main phases. The first phase starts at the beginning of the ceremony and continues in the period of

shaping the rings around the singers. The second phase is started once all rings are completely established in well-order and performance hall filled with members of society as participators of the performance.

The main difference between the first phase and the second phase is that, during the first phase every cycle of the body movement contains two breast beatings while in the second phase of the performance every cyclic movement of the body contains only one breast beating. At the beginning of the first phase once people are still gathering and rings are shaping, the singer starts with low tempo. By the time the last ring is shaped around him, he speeds up the song and it makes the performers ready for entering in the second phase. This period, the last part of the first phase which enjoys a high tempo, is called "*zīrvāḥid*." Just after *zīrvāḥid*, the singer may have long rests in his singing (sometimes up to twelve beats) so the group can show their enthusiastic performance on their beats. In silence of the singer, sometimes the group feel the gap by chanting names like "*Ḥeidar*."

The pattern of body movement in the first phase is shaped by placing the right foot in front and left foot in the back then bowing toward the floor and performs the first breast beating while bowed. Then quickly stand take one step and perform the second breast beating while the weight of their bodies are in their left feet (see Figure 4).

If we consider beating on the breast metrically the down beat, the chorus take their steps on every up-beat. Feet of performers move also forward and backward. At the time of breast beating, the feet of the group remains fixed for a moment and they do not take any footstep. Figure 5 shows the first breast beating (beating while bowing on right foot) and Figure 6 shows the second beat (while standing on left foot).

The cycle of body movement will change in the second phase of performance to include only one breast beating in every cycle as the song heated and tempo speeds up gradually. This phase in local dialect is called *vāḥid*, an Arabic term for "one". *Vāḥid* may gradually performed in a faster tempo and accordingly body movement speeded up. In *vāḥid* the group perform breast beating (now simultaneously includes the taping the right feet) once in every cycle and the second beat ignored. After the end of the song, the singer wishes blessing for group of breast beaters and organizers of the performance.

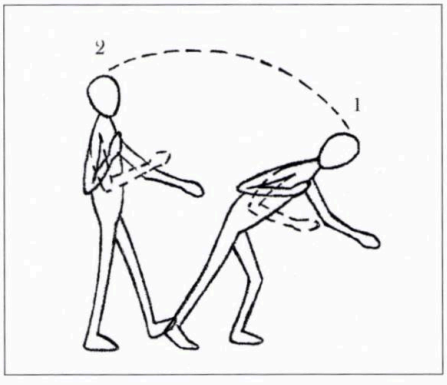


Fig. 4 – The shape of body in movement pattern of the first phase.

Fig. 5 – First breast beating in every cycle of body movement (beating while bowing on right foot).

Fig. 6 – Second breast beating in every cycle of body movement (beating while standing on left foot).

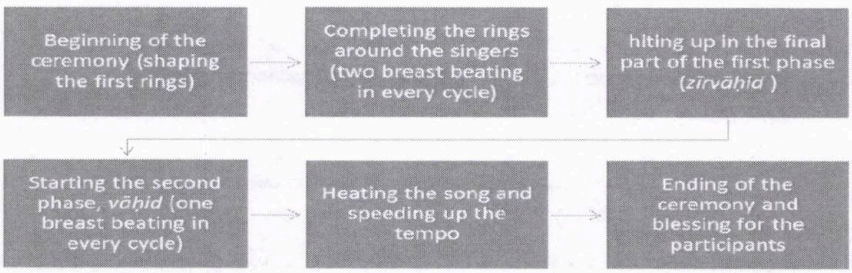

Beginning of the ceremony (shaping the first rings)
Completing the rings around the singers (two breast beating in every cycle)
hiting up in the final part of the first phase (zirvāḥid)
Starting the second phase, vāḥid (one breast beating in every cycle)
Heating the song and speeding up the tempo
Ending of the ceremony and blessing for the participants

Fig. 7 – Different phases in the Muharram lamentation ceremony presented by men in Dashtestan.

Musical Structure

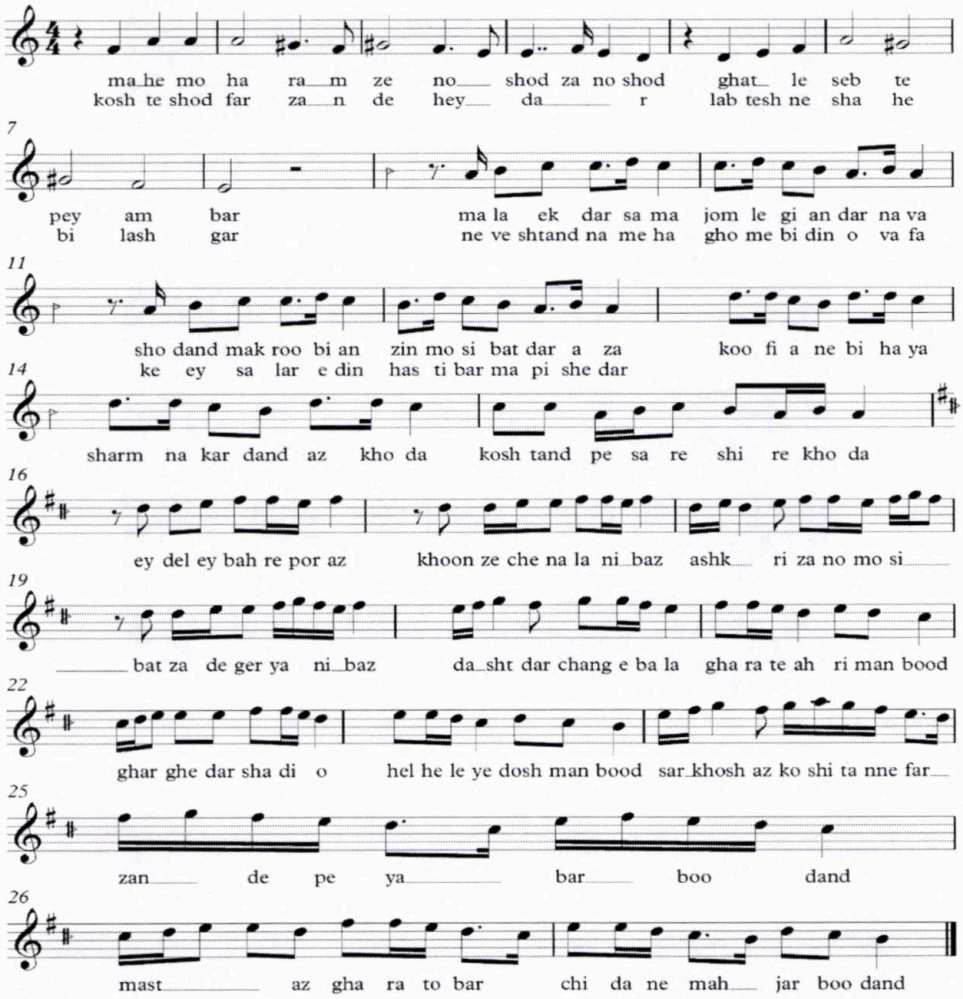
Most of the songs presented in Muharram lamentation ceremonies in Dashtestan are in *Shūr* and its subdivision *āvāz-ha* and sometimes in *Humāyūn* and its subdivision *Shūshtarī*. Nonetheless, the performer may modulate later on as the song progresses. The melody configures in a limited interval and enjoys an arch shape contour. From the point of view of rhythmic structure, most of the songs have a simple rhythmic pattern. All the songs which are presented for breast beating are performed in fixed metre, most often in 4/4, 2/4 and 6/8. Below notation is a transcription of lamentation song by Mehdi Akhondzadeh presented at the night of *'āshūrā*, the tenth and final day of the ceremony of Muharram in Delgushā mosque of Borazjān in 2014.

ma he mo ha ra m ze no shod za no shod ghat le seb te
kosh te shod far za n de hey da r lab tesh ne sha he
7
pey am bar ma la ek dar sa ma jom le gi an dar na va
bi lash gar ne ve shtand na me ha gho me bi din o va fa
11
sho dand mak roo bi an zin mo si bat dar a za koo fi a ne bi ha ya
ke ey sa lar e din has ti bar ma pi she dar
14
sharm na kar dand az kho da kosh tand pe sa re shi re kho da
16
ey del ey bah re por az khoon ze che na la ni baz ashk ri za no mo si
19
bat za de ger ya ni baz da sht dar chang e ba la gha ra te ah ri man bood
22
ghar ghe dar sha di o hel he le ye dosh man bood sar khosh az ko shi ta nne far
25
zan de pe ya bar boo dand
26
mast az gha ra to bar chi da ne mah jar boo dand

Fig. 8 – Lamentation song by Mehdi Akhondzadeh presented at the night of *'āshūrā* in Delgushā mosque of Borazjān in 2014.

Women lamentation ceremonies

Based on a local classification, the lamentation ceremonies by women in Dashtestan can be divided into two different types: "seated down ceremonies" and "stood up ceremonies." The seated down ceremonies contain mostly lamentation songs and yelling by members of the society in large rooms where people can seat on the floor in circle and perform the ceremony. The seated down ceremonies contain little body movements. The stood up ceremonies are mainly configured in turning circles. The ceremony that we present here, the circle lamentation ceremony of lost ones, is amongst the stood up ceremonies.

In villages of Dashtestan, songs of women are hardly heard in everyday life. They may only sing in lamentation ceremonies. Even in that case, they may only sing where stranger men are not presented – of course excluding their close relatives such as father brother uncle and so on.

The most important women lamentation ceremonies in Dashtestan is the commemoration of passing away of young members of the society, particularly the unmarried young men. In such ceremony, mostly the wedding songs are presented with sorrow to show the lost wishes of his marriage and the gone wishes of his dependents particularly his mother and sisters.

Whereas in men circle ceremonies the chief singer stands in the middle and lamenters move in circles around him for entire performance, in women ceremonies the chief singer, *sarkhān*, at the beginning of the ceremony stands in the middle but toward the end she also participates in circle, normally first ring, and turns along with other participants while singing.

In this ceremony no musical instrument is used. Having good quality of voice and ability of singing sorrowfully are two main necessity skills of the singers in lamentation ceremonies. In fact, the amount of crying and yelling of the listeners of the ceremony show the degree of success of the singer in her job.

Fig. 9 – Beating on faces in a women lamentation ceremony in Dashtestan (photo by authors).

The group in some part of the ceremony clap and in other parts may scream and beat on their faces. The hand clapping helps the singer to keep the metre and performing the claps enthusiastically brings the singer to an excited state of singing. The close relatives may beat and scratch their faces and breast harshly, in a way that they lose their consciousness.

Musical Structure

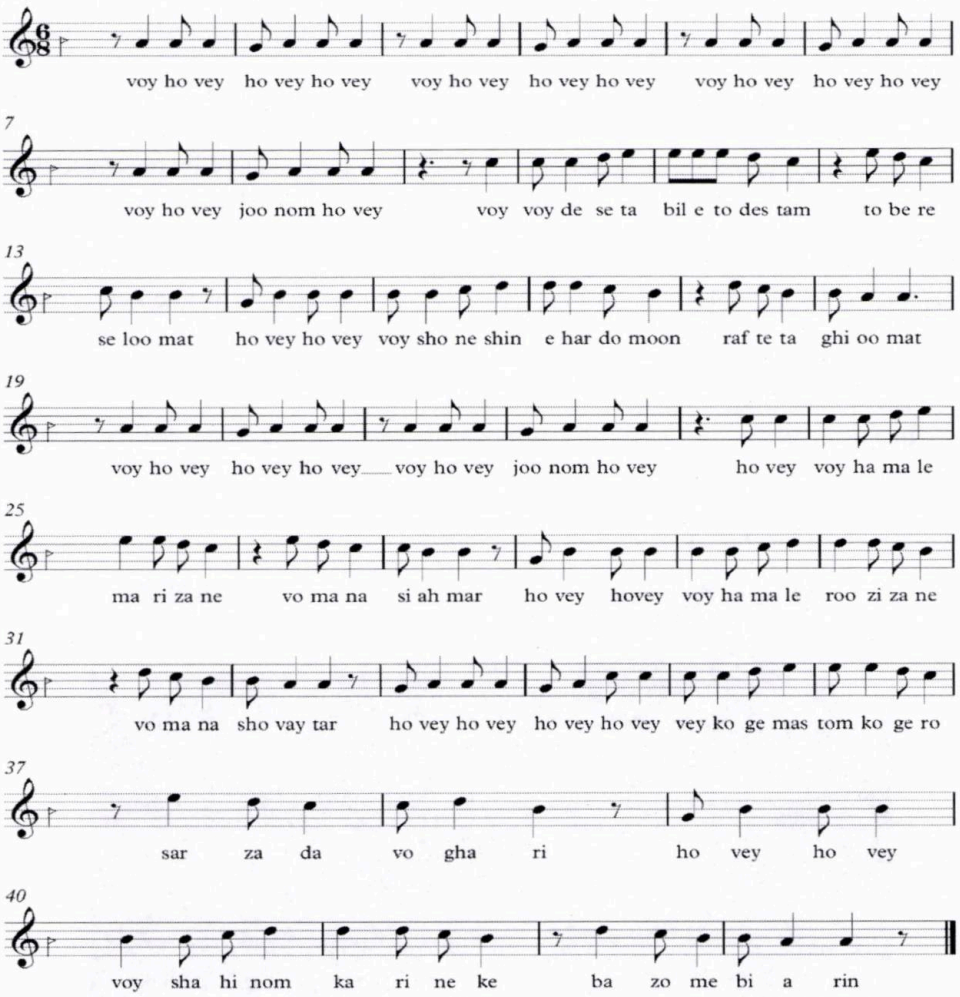
In the women lamentation ceremony no instrument is used. Singers sing in local dialect and participants move in circle and clap according to the song beat. As the performance heated up the women, particularly the old ones, begin to dance. Their dance

6/8
voy ho vey ho vey ho vey voy ho vey ho vey ho vey voy ho vey ho vey ho vey
7
voy ho vey joo nom ho vey voy voy de se ta bil e to des tam to be re
13
se loo mat ho vey ho vey voy sho ne shin e har do moon raf te ta ghi oo mat
19
voy ho vey ho vey ho vey voy ho vey joo nom ho vey ho vey voy ha ma le
25
ma ri za ne vo ma na si ah mar ho vey hovey voy ha ma le roo zi za ne
31
vo ma na sho vay tar ho vey ho vey ho vey ho vey vey ko ge mas tom ko ge ro
37
sar za da vo gha ri ho vey ho vey
40
voy sha hi nom ka ri ne ke ba zo me bi a rin

Fig. 10 – "Howey, Howey" by Soheila Khajeh from remote town of Sa'dābād in north Dashtestan, recorded in 2014.

does not follow a strict pattern and their body movements are not synchronized. In fact, everyone dances her own dance in group. They mostly keep hands up and move their waist to the left and right or turning it around. The participant simply scream in some parts of the performance or repeat some syllables like *way*, *way*, *way*, … (means what a disaster). This syllables are said according to the beat of singer and the hand clapping and shape a 2/4 metric cycle.

Whereas in men ceremonies the singer may modulate from the primary mode during the performance, in women ceremony the singer usually dos not change the mode in the course of performance. The melody in women ceremonies is usually very simple. There will be a steady melodic phrase which is repeated over the song and different contents sung by that. The following notation is a transcription of a song called "Howey, Howey" (after the non-verbal expression of women who lost their love ones) by Soheila Khajeh in women ceremony. This song belongs to a remote town in north Dashtestan called Sa'dābād and it was recorded in 2014. The mode used to perform this song resembles the *shūr* scale.

SPIRITUALITY OF THE CEREMONY AND THE EMOTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The participants of the ceremony who act as breast beaters and chorus may experience spiritual inspirations during the course of performance particularly once the singing is heated and the tempo speeds up. During this period the beatings on their breasts are so hard that may cause inflammations and injuries. Once after the performance we asked the reason of beating themselves so harshly? We usually were responded "I did not harm myself deliberately. I simply came to such an intense excitement that I had lost my control." Heating the song and speeding up the music causes faster body movements so that gradually performers feel that their soul tries to break the cage of the body and fly out of the body. In this state they never feel any tiredness or pain.

During the course of performance some participants pay more attention to the lamentation songs performed by the singer and feel sorry for the Imam and his companions who were killed in the battle of *'āshurā*.

In the women ceremonies the main purpose of participating in lamentation ceremony is that of curing the broken heart of those who lost their love ones. Having a mournful timbre of voice is the central necessity of the singer's voice and this comes from the sorrowful life the singer has had in her personal life. Nearly every singer whom we asked when and how they became involved in lamentation singing told us since their own experiencing of losing a close loved one. The singers have their own lost loved ones in their mind while singing, that is why the sorrowful timber of their voices looks so real.

SOCIAL STATUS OF LAMENTATION SINGERS (NUHEKHĀN) IN DASHTESTAN

The Social status of the men lament singers and women lament singers entirely differs from one another in Dashtestan. While the men singer of lamentation ceremonies have great respected characters in the society, the women lament singers mostly belong

to low class families. There are two main reasons for different states of men and women singers of lamentation songs. The first reason is that the singing of men are considered as a holy, religious performance because they mainly sing in commemorates of wholly imams while the singing of women in ceremony of lost ones are considered as a secular performance because they sing about ordinary people.

The second reason based on the social status of a man lament singer differs form place of a woman lament singer is that generally singing by women is considered a forbidden act in Islamic beliefs and the women who do this do not tightly keep the religious orders.

Men singers may come from high class families and some of them may even do not accept any payment for singing in lamentation ceremonies. Those singers enjoy a great respect in the local society. However, the women singers mostly come from poor or middle class families and if one hire them for performing in a ceremony she has to pay them. Of course, in some women ceremonies the singer may; selected from one of the relatives; in that case no payment will be made for the performance.

NATURE AND WAY OF LIFE, THE TWO MAIN SOURCES OF INSPIRATION OF THE BODY MOVEMENTS IN CEREMONIES

Shaping of the circles of the breast beaters was different some 70 years ago. During that time, the group of the breast beaters made a spiral shape cycles around the singer. To make the spiral shape movement, the most professional and well-regarded person, called *sarsīneh*, comes next to the singer and start his body movement and breast beating. Then, other participants join him in spiral way as shown in the following figure.

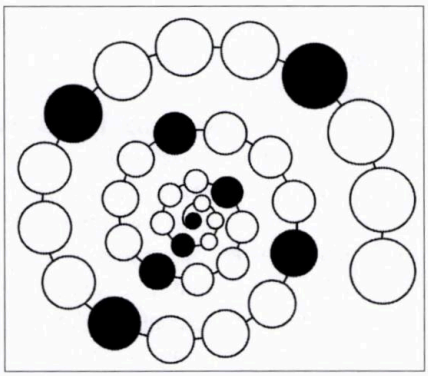


Fig. 11 – Shaping the spiral of the participants around the singer.

The local people compare the shape of group as "snake" shape, for which the *sarsīneh* is head. At the tail of the snake, the young performers and children join the group.

People of Bushehr province are considered as people of the sea. Their life by the Persian Gulf makes their life very dependent on sea. Shaping the group of the performers in cycles around the singer is somehow a representation of the waves shaped in water. In

our discussions with local people in Dashtestan, we were told that the lamentation ritual of making circles and moving around traced back to someone called Nākhoda 'Abās Daryānavard (the captain sailor 'Abās) who for the first time invented the lamentation style of Bushehr by dropping a stone into the sea and watching the waves.

Fig. 12 – Some local people believe the style of lamentation ceremony in Bushehr province was invented by Nākhoda 'Abās Daryānavard after he looked at waves shaping by dropping a stone in water.

Establishing the rings around the singer and turning anticlockwise is a habit in several other rituals by Muslims. The most well-known ritual in which participants make rings around the centre and move anticlockwise is that pilgrim of Ka'ba in Mecca.

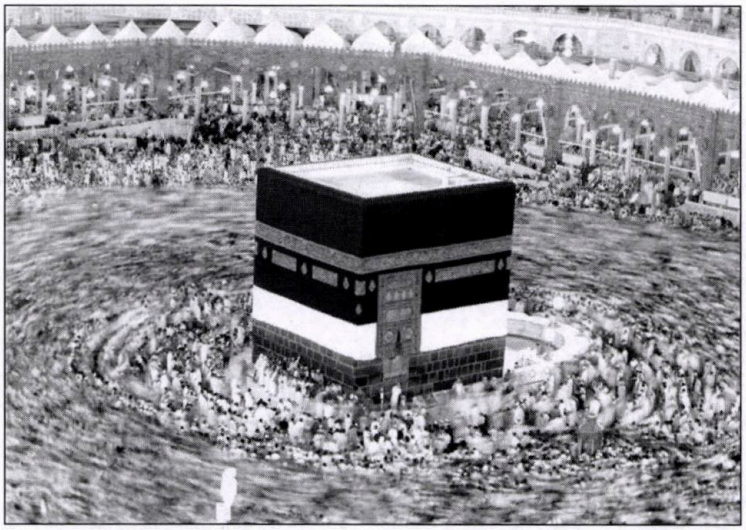


Fig. 13 – Turning anticlockwise around Ka'ba is the most well-known ritual among Muslims.

Most of the people by the Persian Gulf are either sailors or have a job directly or indirectly related to the sea. For this reason the sea always play a central role in their lives. The life of sailors plays a considerable part in layout and shaping of the body movements in various ceremonies. In analysis of the patterns of the body movements

we found that some movements relate to the way sailors pull their fisher boats. To pull a fisher boat, a group of sailors pull the rope while their right feet is in front and the left feet placed back. For pulling the rope they bow their back and try to make their forces synchronised (as seen in following Figure). The sail men sing a song while pulling the boat toward the coastline in order to firstly synchronize their force and secondly to not feel the exhaustion of hard working.[2]

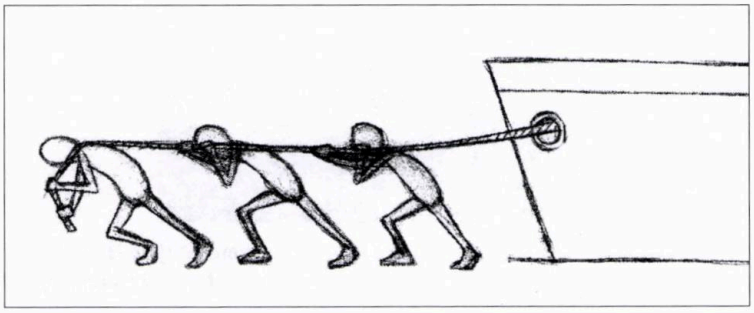


Fig. 14 – Shape of body in pulling a fisher boat by a group of sailors is very much looking like the form of body movements in various ceremonies in Bushehr.

DISCUSSION

The body movements resembles a very interesting dance performance for the observers of the lamentation ceremony of Dashtestan. However, in that region it is forbidden to use term "dance" for such performances because of the religious and common outlook of people toward "dance." The term dance in Persian outlook is a body movement exercised in cheerful ceremonies and even if the performer uses the same movement patterns for lamentation purposes they are no longer allowed to use the same term. If an outsider accidentaly uses the term dance for such performance he or she simply will be told "don't called it dance, say body movement."

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[2] This is a revised version of an article read in 2015 ICTM World Conference in Astana.

THE KOROGHLU EPIC: ITS ORIGIN AND DISSEMINATION AREAS (ON THE BASIS OF AZERBAIJAN AND TURKEY VERSIONS)

ELZA ISMAYILOVA

ABSTRACT

Nowadays there is a very long tradition of epos in a wide geography, spreading from the Middle Asia to the Balkans. The epic *Koroghlu* plays an important role among the common values of the Turkish people. In this study, which we have taken on the collected texts from Azerbaijan and Turkey, researchers on Koroghlu is widely introduced. Detailed information is given about identity of Koroghlu, the hero of epic. Koroghlu was one of the leaders of the Jelali revolts in Anatolia, which he was lived in the late 16th century, in the beginning of the 17th century and he was a historical person, but he is idealized as a hero. It is justified that he was an *ashug* poet. At the same time, the article also shows that the era and sprawl area of the heroic epic Koroghlu has turned into a subject that has attracted the attention of researchers, travelers and folklore lovers.

Keywords: Koroghlu, Azerbaijan, epos, Turkic world, Anatolia, Jelali, revolt.

INTRODUCTION

Koroghlu is a famous heroic epic of the Turkic peoples. Three hundred years have passed since it was created. Over time, the story of *Koroghlu* has spread throughout different countries and gained importance as an example of traditional folklore.

The epic of Koroghlu, a common heritage of the Turkic world, left an indelible impression on everyone who ever knew or heard of it. Koroghlu gained his reputation as an epic hero, a legendary person, an ashug-poet[1], as well as a historical figure who has left his marks on the minds of people for centuries.

The hero of the epic *Koroghlu*, impresses many readers with his combination of audacity, poetic talent, and singing ability. *Koroghlu* can be categorized with the

[1] An *ashik*/*ashug* – is a singer who accompanied his song – be it a dastan also known as *hikaye* (traditional epic stories), a shorter original composition – with a long necked lute (*bağlama*) in Azerbaijani culture and related Turkic cultures. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashik (accessed on 20.10.2017).

famous works of world literature like *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, *Manas*, and *Alpamish*. The origin of the epic is closely related to the historic Jelali revolts[2]. The famous Turkish historian Mustafa Akdag, in his book *Jelali Revolts*, writes: "Köroğlu adındaki halk destanlarının yegane kahramanı olarak ebedileşmesinin sebebi; Celali isyanlarının ilk bayrakdarı olmasındadır. Yaşadığı sahaların İstanbul – İran askeri yolu üzerine rastlaması şekavetini ayrıca popüler kılmıştır, denebilir"[3] (The only reason for the popularity of this hero and epic is the fact that Koroghlu was the flagbearer of the Jelali revolts. Besides that, we can say that living in areas like İstanbul and on the road to Iran made him popular). Such and some other not so easy issues that the study seeks to discuss include Koroglu as a real historical figure and his historical period, origins of epic, the place of origin etc.

Despite the fact that the epic of *Koroghlu* has been the area of major concern and research of Azerbaijani and Turkish folklore studies for a long time, there are no comparative studies available on Azerbaijani and Turkish versions of the epic. Certainly, there is a pressing need for a credible research in this area that makes this study more relevant and necessary than ever before. Thus, the present article mainly deals with the identity of Koroghlu (the main hero of epic), and the origin of epic and its distribution areas. The primary purpose of the research is to investigate Koroghlu's character as well as the epic of *Koroghlu* and perform in-depth analysis based on Azerbaijani and Turkish versions of the epic. The historical-philological approach was applied. Based on factual materials the article analyzes original thoughts and views of scientists, folklorists and folklore researchers who were exploring both Azerbaijani and Turkish variants of the epic.

THE IDENTITY OF KOROGHLU

Most researchers confirm this basic information about the *Koroghlu* story but disagree with some of its most significant details. One of the most important disagreements centers on where Koroghlu lived. Three of the most important early sources on the *Koroghlu* story – Evliya Chalabi, a famous Turkish traveller of the 17th century, author of *Seyahatname* (The Book of Travel); Arakel Tabrizi, Armenian historian; and Elias Musheg, an Armenian merchant, the author of the *Naghmalar* (The Book of Songs), which had written in 1721 – claimed that Koroghlu lived in the Anatolia region.

The first information about Koroglu is based on Evliya Chalabi's. Chalabi remembers Koroghlu when writing about guilds of Istanbul and about sazendegan (sazende/chalkhichi: musician (who plays one of the traditional Turkish instruments)

[2] Jelali revolts, Jelali also spelled Celali, rebellions in Anatolia against the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first revolt occurred in 1519 near Tokat under the leadership of Jelal/Celal. URL: https://www.britannica.com/event/Jelali-Revolts (15.10.2017).

[3] Akdag 1995: 299.

and chogurchiyan (chogur: a kind of instrument) in the first chapter of his travelogue[4]. Chalabi notes that Koroghlu was a bandit who lived in the Bolu Cherkesh area. According to Chalabi's account, one evening when Koroghlu, Chalabi, and their compatriots left Cherkesh on their way to Tosya, bandits attacked and wanted to rob them. Then Evliya Chalabi spoke these words, impressing the bandits: "Hey gaziler! Sizin ettiğinizi bu dağlarda eşkiyalık eden Köroğlu yapmamıştır, ilh..."[5] (Hey you, foremen! Koroghlu is a bandit in these mountains but he has never acted in this way). Evliya Chalabi, who provided the accurate information about Koroghlu, mentioned in her *Travel Book* that he was a well-known robber in Anatolia. At the same time, Chalabi examplifies Koroghlu as a robber.

The Armenian historian Arakel Tabrizi described Koroghlu in his *Kniga Istoriy* (The Book of History): "Koroghlu... this same Koroghlu whose songs are sung by the ashigs (was one of the members of Jelali rebels together with Giziroglu Mustafa Bey (who rebelled with 1,000 men; he was a friend of Koroghlu, who mentions him in many songs), Garagash, Deli Nasib, Yolasigmaz, Tanritanimaz, Goyebakhan, Chiplag, Kosakosa, Girli, Gara Saad, and Agajanpiri"[6].

Briefly, considering all above-mentioned we can confirm that Koroghlu is presented in *History Book* of Arakel Tabrizi as a historical figure, member of Jelali movement and ashug poet as well.

Another author who confirms Koroghlu's historical existence is the Armenian merchant Elias Musheg. He includes thirteen *goshmas* (eleven-syllable poems with couplets, sung by *ashigs*) composed by Koroghlu in his manuscript *Naghmalar* (Tabriz, 25 January 1721). *The Book of Songs* introduces Koroghlu as a foreman of a huge band of horsemen during the reign of Iranian ruler Shah Abbas and Turkish ruler Sultan Murad, who attacked and robbed merchants. This book tells of Koroghlu's headquarters, Chamlibel, which was situated in the Soganli forest between the Garni and Gars mountains[7].

Elias Musheg has given thirteen poems from Koroglu in his manuscript *Naghmalar*. One of those poems further affirms the idea that Koroghlu was a Jelali: "Koroğlu alur salamı,/ Nə bürülür halal-haramı, broy!/ Yeddi yüz yetmiş *calalı*,/ Yar, dəlüə qurban olayım"[8] (Koroghlu will receive greetings/ That do halal or haram contain!/ Seven hundred seventy *Jelalis*,/ A dear beloved warrior).

It is interesting to trace the echoes of Koroghlu's connection with the Jelalis movement by comparatively examining the epic itself. In the Paris and Tiflis versions of the saga, the fact that Koroghlu is named *Jelali Koroghlu* ("Bac verməyüb İstambulda sultanə,/Görməmisən mənim kimi *Cəlali*"[9] – He didn't pay

[4] Kahraman and Dagli 2008: 640, 642; Kahraman 2010: 375.
[5] Kahraman 2010: 30.
[6] Davrizhetsi 1973: 94-95.
[7] Azerbaijan Edebiyyati Tarikhi 2004: 727; Koroghlu 1997: 201.
[8] Azerbaijan Dastanlari 2005: 440.
[9] Koroghlu 2005: 427.

taxes to the Sultan in Istanbul/ You haven't seen a *Jelali* like me), and in the same version the participation of people like *Nazar Jelali* (Paris and Tiflis versions) and *Hasan Jelali* (Tiflis version), show that Koroghlu was connected to the Jelali rebels.

Ilya Pavlovich Petrushevsky, a Soviet historian-orientalist, introduces his views on this theme: "Perhaps one of the leaders of the Jelali revolts took this legendary name as a nickname"[10].

Frederic Dubois de Montpereux, a traveller, writer, and historian, is known for his travel report from the Caucasus. Frederic Dubois de Montpereux discussed Koroghlu in his book *Voyage Autour du Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Georgie, en Armenie et en Crimée* (Voyage Around the Caucasus, Among the Circassians and the Abkhazians, in Colchis, Georgia, Armenia and in the Crimea) stating that Koroghlu was the son of the Iranian ruler's stableman whose eyes were plucked out[11].

Ivan Ivanovich Shopen/Chopin, a Russian historian, ethnographer, and statesman of French origin, published an article entitled *Korogly – Tatarskaya Legenda* (Koroghlu – Tatar Legend) in the journal *Mayak Sovremennogo Prosveshcheniya i Obrazovannost* (1840). Chopin compiled this version of the epic from a Turkic ashug named Omir who lived in Southern Azerbaijan and translated it into Russian. According to Chopin, *Koroghlu*'s origin has close ties with the Turkic world[12].

Alexander Borejko Chodzko, a Polish orientalist, translator, and diplomat, played a huge role in researching and publishing the *Koroghlu* epic. Starting in 1830, Chodzko worked as a translator for a Russian missionary organization in Iran and the Russian Embassy in Tabriz. Later he worked as an ambassador in Rasht and Gilan. Chodzko took a manuscript of the *Koroghlu* epic to Europe, and in 1842 he published an English language translation of it in London. According to Chodzko, the epic originated in Khorasan (Southern Azerbaijan) in the seventeenth century and Koroghlu was an outlaw on the road to Khoy – Erzurum whose origin was Turkmen: "The hero of this story is a Turkmen from the Takalu tribe who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century and was from Northern Khorasan"[13].

Chodzko claims that Koroghlu lived during the reign of Shah Abbas II. However, we cannot accept that as true, since the Jelali rebellion coincides with the period of Shah Abbas I's reign. This fact is obviously reflected in the poems which mention Koroghlu: "Koroğlu gəldilər savaş qurmağa,/ Qoçaqların muradını verməyə,/ Kos, nağara çalınır qan almağa,/ O Şeyx oğlu Şah Abbasın günüdür[14] (Koroghlu came with the warriors to start the battle/ He came to make the brave ones happy/ Drums are beaten to spill blood/ And today is the day of Shah Abbas).

In 1850, Ivan Alekseyevich Slivitskiy's article about Koroghlu was published in the Kavkaz newspaper. He criticized Russian poet A.N. Berk's poem *Pesnya*

[10] Petrushevsky 1949: 328.
[11] Montpereux 1839: 455-457.
[12] Chopin 1840: 12-25.
[13] Chodzko 1842: 3, 334.
[14] Mumtaz 1935: 241.

Persidskogo Razboynika Koroghlu (Persian Bandit Koroghlu's Song): "Moscow poet Berk thinks that Koroghlu sings banal songs and calls him a bandit. Hardly – can bandits compose such pleasant and lyrical poems and songs"[15].

S.S. Penn translated Chodzko's book into Russian from English. Penn first published Chodzko's work over several editions of the *Kavkaz* newspaper[16] in 1856, and later it was published as a book in Tiflis under the title *Ker-oghlu, Vostochniy Poet-Nayezdnik* (Koroghlu, the Outlaw Poet of the East). In an introduction titled *From the Translator*, Penn described Chodzko's work as follows: "The improvisations made by Koroghlu can be heard from the singers and ashugs of the Caucasus. These improvisations are the ones which Chodzko collected during his travel to the East. The personality of the respected orientalist Chodzko and my chance of listening to the singers singing from Koroghlu enable me to say that this collection is not an imperfect one"[17].

Charles Pierre Henri Rieu, a Swiss Orientalist, drew up a *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* in 1888. In this catalogue, information on Turkey and Azerbaijani poetry are given in Poetry section and Koroghlu as a poet was listed in Poetical Miscellanies subsection of it ("...and of short pieces of chiefly ghazels, by the following poets: Ruhi, Sabit, Selimi, Jami, and Kiyasi", foll. 19-28; "...Bedri, Yahya, and Atif, foil. 63-82; *Kur Oghli*, and *Ashik Omer*", foll. 104-113...)[18].

Importantly, Ashug Omer, who is mentioned in this *Catalogue*, talked about a person named Koroghlu in his *Shairnamah*[19] (The Book about Poets): "Köroğlu çalardı perdesizce saz" (Koroghlu played a fretless saz)[20]. This hemistich shows that Koroghlu was a famous ashug. Essentially, in many sources, Koroghlu was depicted as a poet who lived in Anadolu in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

It is the result of great interest of Europe to epic Koroghlu that the great American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote a short poem called *The Leap of Roushan Beg*, welding from *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as Found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit-Minstrel of Northern Persia, and in the Songs of the People Inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea* by Alexander Chodzko. This poem was first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine in January 1878 and in the book of *Keramos and Other Poems*. Longfellow's poem

[15] The *Kavkaz* newspaper, No.13, 15 February 1850: 50-51.

[16] See: No. 21, 83-84; No. 22, 86-88; No. 23, 91-92; No. 24, 94-96; No. 26, 103-104; No. 27, 107-108; No. 30, 118-119; No. 31, 123-124; No. 32, 129-130; No. 33, 133-134; No. 34, 137-138; No. 36, 144-146; No. 37, 149-150; No. 38, 153-154; No. 39, 156-158; No. 40, 161-162; No. 41, 165-166; No. 42, 169-170.

[17] Penn 1856: 1-3.

[18] Rieu 1888: 211-212.

[19] Sairnamah is named of the poetries which the folk poets written with syllabic meter (consisting of eleven) and mentioned the own term's poets' or the before term's poets' pseudonym. Asik Omer is the first poet who written sairnamah in Minstrel literature. URL: http://ilmiyqirim.blogspot.ru/2014/10/asik-omerin-sairnamesi-ve-suara.html (11.11.2017).

[20] Kaya 1990: 29.

is a live work, which it is consists of 14 stanza and 84 hemistichs (6 hemistichs in each stanza)[21].

Longfellow's views on Koroghlu's venue are also remarkable. Look at the piece of the poem *The Leap of Roushan Beg* by Longfellow: "In the land that lies beyond/ Erzeroum and Trebizond,/ Garden-girt his fortress stood;/ Plundered khan, or caravan"[22]. It appears from the piece of poetry that Longfellow emphasizes that Koroghlu's territory was in the Eastern Anatolia Region, on the Silk Road, near Trabzon and Erzurum.

Arthur Christy published a book titled *The Leap of Roushan Beg: by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, which consists of 33 pages, in New York, in 1931, by W.E. Rudge Publishing House. Arthur Christy wrote the introduction and notes to the book, printed in facsimile form. The facsimile of the manuscript, probably the first draft of the poem *The Leap of Roushan Beg*, consists of the title and 15 numbered slips. Slips 2-15 are each followed by the corresponding text as first printed in *Keramos and Other Poems* in 1878[23].

Incidentally, the *Koroghlu* epos has attracted the attention of American and European musicians from the beginning of the 19th century. Chodzko has included the notes of nine songs into the last section of the book *Koroghlu* consisting of fourteen sections by the name of Persian Airs, which the Polish pianist and composer Anton de Kontski/Antoni Katski arranged for the piano.

The first note is *Koroghlu* (Kurroglou), the second note is under the name of *Aderbaijani Air*. *The Koroghlu air* of A. Chodzko's Koroghlu publication is the first example of Azerbaijan's ashug music which it took into notes[24].

The American composers James Richard Dear and Horatio William Parker composed music on the basis of Longfellow's *The Leap of Roushan Beg*. James Richard Dear wrote the English ballad *The Leap of Kurroglou* for baritone solo, SATB (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass) chorus, chorus-mixed, orchestra, and piano. The 34-page notes ballad, which was originally stored at the University of Michigan, was published in 1907 by the Chappell & CO., Limited Publishing Company in London[25].

Horatio William Parker wrote the ballad in the name of *The Leap of Roushan Beg* based on Longfellow's poem, which it is consists of 27-page notes, for singing with men's choir, orchestra, and piano with the tenor solo, two tenor, and two basses (TTBB – Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1 (Baritone), Bass 2). It was published in New York

[21] URL: http://poetry.literaturelearning.org/?q=node/61 (7.11.2017).

[22] Longfellow 1878: 30-31. URL: https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/unbound/poetry/longfel/roushan.htm (12.9.2017).

[23] Christy, Arthur 1931: The Leap of Roushan Beg, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. New York: William Edwin Rudge Publishing House. URL: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002862953 (the date of access: 4.10. 2017)

[24] Chodzko 1842: 583-585.

[25] Dear, James Richard *The Leap of Kurroglou*. London, New York: Chappell &Co., Ltd., 1907. URL: http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=38843 (10.11.2017).

in 1913 by G. Schirmer Publishing. This ballad (Op. 75) was first featured in Philadelphia Orpheus Club in 1914. The work has been re-published in Recital Publications, in 1994 and now the original of this work is protecting at the University of Michigan[26].

Two great figures of the Turkic World musical art, Uzeyir Hajibeyli, the author of the first opera in the Islamic world, the father of the Azerbaijan classic music and opera, and Ahmed Adnan Saygun, composer, musicologist, the first Turkish opera composer, both of them wrote the same-named famous opera Koroghlu.

All this suggests that, whether in Europe or America, there is a special interest in the literature of Turkic peoples, Turkish folk music, and interest in these areas is still growing. The examples we have mentioned above once again confirm that *Koroghlu* is the epic that directs Europe's attention to the Turkic world.

Based on archived documents and historical sources, we came to the conclusion that the hero of the epic *Koroghlu* was a historical figure, ashug-poet and Jelali as well robbery in Anatolia at the end of 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. But the Koroghlu who was portrayed as a robber in those sources was transformed through folklore into the form of an idealized hero.

THE ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE EPIC KOROGHLU

Wilhelm Radloff, a German-speaking Russian Turkologist who devotes most of his 81-year life to the Turkish world, has opened a new chapter in Turkishology with his works. His works became a source of inspiration for researchers who came after him and paved the way for Turkology. In 1866-1907, Radloff published Turkish folklore materials collected from cold Siberian lands in 10 volumes under the name of *Proben der Volkslitteratür der Türkischen Stamme* (Samples of Folk Literature of the Turkic Tribes). Radloff includes a version of *Tobol's epic Koroghlu*, collected from Siberian Tatars, in the fourth volume (*Folk literature of Tara, Tobol, Turkmen Tatars*) of this series. The text was published in Kazan publishers in 1889, 1890, 1894, 1895, 1901, 1903, 1906, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1916 in the name of *The History of Koroghlu Soltan*. In verse, Korun-oghlu (the son of the blind man) is portrayed as the son of Kor Batyr, the vizier of the King of Istanbul. The 8th edition of Radloff's *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stamme* (shortly Proben) published in 1899, was printed as *Mundarten der Osmanen* (Dialects of the Ottomans).

Hungarian linguist, Turkologist and folklorist Ignacz Kunos published an Istanbul version of *Koroghlu* in the eighth edition of *Proben.* Twenty-six pages of this edition were devoted to the Istanbul version of the *Koroghlu epic.* I. Kunos claims that Koroghlu first appeared as a defender of the Shiites, who later became

[26] Parker, Horatio William . *The Leap of Roushan Beg*. New York: G. Schirmer, 1913. URL: https://archive.org/details/imslp-leap-of-roushan-beg-op75-parker-horatio (10.11.2017).

the hero of the Anatolian Turks, a Sunni knight. However, this does not indicate the location of this information, it does not give much information about the origin of Koroghlu[27]. It should be noted that when Kunos was in Istanbul, he informed his teacher Jozsef Budens about his interest in the *Koroghlu* epic, collecting materials about it and publishing it in letters[28].

Gyula Meszaros, Hungarian ethnographer, anthropologist and folklorist, was also interested in the epic *Koroglu*. He translated *Koroghlu*'s Istanbul version compiled by Kunos into Hungarian and published it in 1913 in Budapest. According to Meszaros, all Turkish literature was born from two classical eastern from Arabia and Persia. He considers the epic *Koroghlu* a story that migrated from Ajamistan[29] to the Ottoman lands. As for the narrative of Istanbul: "If this story Ace survived a little longer, it would be a Turkish epic. The Turks took it so much". It turns out that Meszaros claims that the epic *Koroghlu* was formed in Persia/Iran[30]. Apparently, both Hungarian scientists suggest that the source of the epic Koroghlu is Persia, and then spread to Anatolia, trying to present Koroglu as an Persian hero.

In 1938, Alexander Haggerty Krappe, a folklorist, published his work *La Genese des Mythes* (The Genesis of Myths) in Paris. In this book, Krappe claimed that the Koroghlu epic has an Iranian origin[31].

August von Haxthausen, a German agricultural scientist, economist, lawyer, writer, and collector of folk songs, pointed out that between Irevan and Bayazid, on the border of Turkey, there was Mount Koroghlu: "There is Mount Koroghlu between Iravan and Bayazid on the border of Turkey"[32].

In 1890, Mirza Mehdi Velizade, a teacher and poet, published an article entitled *Predaniye o Razboynik Ker-ogly* (The Story of Koroghlu, the Outlaw). In this article, he shows on the basis of the Adjara and Kartli versions that Koroghlu lived in the Trialet mountains[33].

However, there are authors who claim that the epic dates back before the seventeenth century. For example, Ziya Gokalp, a Turkish sociologist, writer, and political activist, places the origins of Koroghlu in the Gaznavi kingdom of the eleventh century. He considers the founder of the Ghaznavid Empire of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi the prototype of Koroghlu[34].

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[27] Boratav 1984: 230-231.

[28] 24 October, 1885, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS), Document No. 5448/273; 22 December, 1885, HAS, Document No. 5448/280; 2 February, 1886, HAS, Document No. 5448/284; 5 March, 1887, HAS, Document No. 5448/312; 17 April, 1888 HAS, Document No. 5448/332, cf. Szilagyi 2007: 62, 67, 68, 91, 101.

[29] Ajamistan – the name of today's Iranian land.

[30] Boratav 1984: 136 -137.

[31] Krappe 1938: 203.

[32] Haxthausen 1857: 153.

[33] Velizade 1890: 121-126.

[34] Ekiji 2004: 65.

Pertev Naili Boratav, a famous Turkish folklorist, researched the origin of the epic, and in 1931 he published a book entitled *Köroğlu Destani* (Koroghlu Epic). He considered the epic to be of Turkmen origin[35]. Khalig Koroghlu, a Turkologist and literary critic, deals with Koroghlu's genealogy and considers that he belonged to the Zulgadar tribe. Mirza Mehdi Khan, who was the chronologist of Nadir Shah, also give information about the existence of this generation in Azerbaijan and Khorasan[36].

Among the abovementioned authors, Boratav and Khalig Koroghlu later revised their ideas about *Koroghlu*'s geographic origins. On the basis of ideas of Arakel Tabrizi and a Turkish historian Ismail Hakki Uzuncharshili, Boratav disputes the idea that *Koroghlu* originated in the Caucasus and Southern Azerbaijan, and emphasizes that Koroghlu lived in the area of Anatolia and Bolu in the sixteenth century and was one of the members of Jelali revolts. As Boratav explains: 1: According to our assumptions, Koroghlu was one of the leaders of Jelali revolts who lived in the area of Bolu (or became popular after he came here) and later travelled to Anatolia. We can accept the idea that the Koroghlu whom Arakel of Tabriz dealt with is the same person as the one living in the Bolu area in 1590/1591; 2: In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of the Jalali revolts were referred to as the close friends of Koroghlu, which is a reasonable proof for us. But this relationship between them and Koroghlu is mostly the result of the stories; 3: This story was made up when Koroghlu was alive or perhaps a little after his death. The story was made up by ashug-storytellers. Arakel of Tabriz notes that *ashugs* were singing the songs composed by Koroghlu[37].

Khalig Koroghlu introduces Koroghlu as a member of the Jalali revolts and a poet who lived in the area of Turkey in the 16th century[38].

The outstanding historian Faruk Sumer's articles draw attention about Koroglu. According to Faruk Sumer, from the seventeenth century on, the *Koroghlu* epic took the place of *Oghuznames* (Oghuznames are epics about history, traditions, religion, forms of states, languages, law and etc. of Turkic peoples from the ancient times). In Sumer's account, Koroghlu was an outlaw who had one hundred horsemen under his rule living in the Gerede district of the Bolu region. Perhaps he went to work in Chamlibel, located between Tokat and Sivas, and probably took part in Jelali revolts. Ashugs began to tell stories about Koroghlu from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The epic spread from Turkey to Iran and became a favourite of the Turks living there. In Sumer's analysis, this epic probably passed into Turkmen literature later, and they adopted it as their folktale[39].

According to an academician and Turkologist Fakhrettin Kirzioghlu, Koroghlu's original homeland is Khorasan, and there is not any connection with the Jelali outlaw

[35] Boratav 1988: 139.
[36] Koroghlu and Nabiyev 1996: 121.
[37] Boratav 1988: 137.
[38] Koroghlu Kh. 1973: 356.
[39] Sumer 1992: 154.

in Anatolia. Koroghlu's name is in the Turkish provinces that remained outside Anatolia before the Ottomans. Subsequently, in the 16th and 17th centuries, it has emerged imitators in Anatolia[40].

Azad Nabiyev, a folklore researcher, notes that the events described in the epic Koroghlu exactly happened in the 16th-17th centuries, when the peasant uprisings and the Jelali's People's Movement took place. There it has been preserved many facts and events which it is related to the peasant movement that they give reasons to say that the epic was formed on the basis of the influence and development leitmotiv of the peasant movement in Azerbaijan in the 16th-17th centuries. Other historical facts also confirm that informing about the connection of *Koroghlu* epos with the events of this era and approves the probability of Koroghlu's historical personality[41].

Baymukhamed Atalievich Karriev, a Turkmen scientist, folklorist, gives importance to the history of the epic and suggests the possibility that it originated on the banks of Amuderya in the 11th century when Oghuz tribes moved from Central Asia to Iran, the Caucasus and Turkey[42].

Ilhan Bashgoz, a folklore researcher, points out that Koroghlu was a bandit poet who lived in the sixteenth century. He claimed that the epic spread from Anatolia to Azerbaijan and Central Asia[43].

Dr Lor Melikoff Sayyar published her monograph entitled *From Legend to Opera. Evolution of the Koroghlu Theme in Soviet Azerbaijan* in 1979 in Paris. The book was published in 1985 in Baku under the title *Ot Legendy k Opere. Evolyutsiya Temy Keroglu v Sovetskom Azerbaydzhane*. Sayar compares Koroghlu to Robin Hood in English literature, searches for analogies between the two heroes, and gives information about Koroghlu's origin and his home country. The author also points out that Koroghlu took part in the attacks on the Caucasus under the rule of Osman Pasha and compares several versions of the epic with Chodzko's versions[44].

Researcher Aida Ismayilova also explores the history prototypes of Koroghlu and Robin Hood, the main heroes of the *Koroghlu* and *Robin Hood* epos, both of which are epic historic personalities[45].

In his book entitled *Char Skifler* (Royal Scythians) legend "son of the blind man" and the *Koroghlu* epic, Dr Zaur Gassanov looks for the similarities between Herodotus's `son of the blind man` legend and the Koroghlu epic and emphasizes the direct connection between the two: "The epic Koroghlu, which refers to elements of Herodotus's legend, was in its formation period. The epic appeared in a written form in the nineteenth century"[46]. Z. Gassanov believes that the events took place on the

[40] Sari 2017: 16-17.
[41] Nabiyev 2006: 487- 488.
[42] Karriev 1968: 43.
[43] Ekiji 2004: 79.
[44] Sayyar 1985: 9.
[45] Ismayilova 2015: 119.
[46] Gassanov 2005: 378.

shores of the Black Sea and he notes that the events taking place in the epic are probably 2,700 years old. He made a table which represented the analogies of the epic and the Skif legend.

In some historical sources, Koroghlu was described as a robber and mugger. Another source that confirms Koroghlu was a historical figure, called the *Muhimme Defterleri/Muhimme Registers*[47] (Registers of important affairs) is kept in the archive of the Prime Ministry of Turkey. References to Koroghlu in these registers include: *Muhimme Register* No. 42, p. 75 – "To Anatolia khanate: Since in Gerede region a bandit named Koroghlu and in Cypris Chakaloglu has appeared, the people living in these regions leave their country". *Muhimme Register* No. 3, p. 132 shows that an outlaw band headed by Koroghlu in 1581 was robbing people. This also shows that Koroghlu was continuing his work in 1584 and militiaman and government members were hiding his actions.

The question of the epic origin had always been a topic of interest to researchers. According to Hamid Arasly, an Azerbaijani scientist and literary critic, some epics are shaped by the storyteller himself who is the main character of the epic[48]. Mammadhuseyn Tahmasib, a folklore researcher and literary critic, supports this view, and the author of this article also accepts it as a reasonable and credible view[49]. We assume that the epic *Koroghlu* was shaped by the hero himself. He was a historical figure who is known for his storytelling. Thus, the assumption that the epic was created by Koroghlu himself seems sensible. The members of the Jelali revolts are the prototypes of the most characters in the epic.

Generally, the majority of Azerbaijani researchers talk about the rebellions called the Jelali revolts, which took place in Azerbaijan in the 16th-17th centuries, when they speak about the traces of historical events in the epic *Koroghlu.* There are lots of information in the historical sources about heroes, which were leaders of the Jelalis movement or closely involved in this movement. The names of the members of the Jelalis movement are also found in the epic *Koroghlu.* This allows the researchers to carry out parallels between the historical rebellion and the epic and to learn how episodes of the history turning into an epos.

The epic *Koroghlu* is a common epic of the Turkish nation. For this reason, researchers preferred to prove that Koroghlu was from their region, in the books and articles published in Azerbaijan and Turkey. The research findings show that the epic of Koroghlu first appeared in the East Anatolian and then spread to Azerbaijan and Central Asia. A careful analysis of the heroic epic revealed that it's being a

[47] Muhimme Register/Mühimme Defteri – (t.), a term of Ottoman Turkish administration. This series of "Registers of Important Affairs" is for the most part kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul. Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Mühimme Defterleri", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. First published online: 2012. URL: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muhimme-defterleri-SIM_5433 (26.11.2017).

[48] Arasly 1960: 13.

[49] Tahmasib 1972: 20.

source of historical truth keeps a track of many important historical events. Koroghlu continues to live from the past to the present as a hero of the epic, and as an ashug. He is a common hero of Anatolia, Azerbaijan, and of the Turkish world.

CONCLUSION

Koroghlu epos, a phenomenal and peerless pearl of all-Turkish literature treasure has attracted the attention of several folklorists both in Turkish world and Europe and has become a subject of extended learning and exploration. This epos has been investigated fundamentally and translated into various languages.

Our research has introduced some serious studies of *Koroghlu* epos. After considering the researchers' thoughts about Koroghlu and investigating some historical facts, we have come to the conclusion that the epos character Koroghlu lived in the late 16^{th} and early 17^{th} centuries and Koroghlu, idealized as a hero, was not only the historical personage but also an ashug-poet. Koroghlu who belonged to the areas of Anadolu and Azerbaijan was well-known for his heroism and ashug performance. It has been proved and we also support that Koroghlu was the historical personality. The landmarks that were described in the Epos reflect the history and thoughts about his participation in Jelalis movement are true.

Relaying on the various thoughts of the above-mentioned scientists and documents, which confirm Koroghlu as a historical personage, we claim that *Koroghlu* epic initially was developed in Anadolu. Its development coincided with the expansion of Jelalis movement. When Ottoman Empire oppressed Jelalis, a part of them moved to Southern Azerbaijan and from there they moved to Northern Azerbaijan and Middle Asia. Those events stipulated the creation of different versions of *Koroghlu* epos and its dissemination geography.

We notice that Turkish version of *Koroghlu* epos was written with Anadolu accent. Ottoman language did not influence it. That is why when Koroghlu epos is introduced to modern readers they are provided with the dictionary attached to the book. It shows that the Epos is a product of Anadolu region. Names of places in the Epos also prove that. According to the researchers the first time *Koroghlu* epos was created in Eastern Anadolu, then developed in Southern Azerbaijan (The version developed in Southern Azerbaijan was protected by *Tbilisi* and *Paris* handwritings) and from here it was disseminated to Northern Azerbaijan and Middle Asia.

In the most researches of *Koroghlu* epos, Koroghlu was illustrated as a historical personage, an ashug-poet, a participant of Jelalis movement, and a hero-characteristic of the Epos. There are different opinions about the hero characteristic. Jelali movement and *Koroghlu* epos shared the same participants. Accordingly, it proves that the Epos was developed when he was alive or immediately after his death. Dissemination of the stories about him and their improvement was a result of enormous work of the saz singers and poets.

Koroghlu has been famous in extended Turkish area for many centuries. During this period having Koroghlu in their mind people are encouraged to look forward with confidence.

In this article, we show that origins and distribution areas of the epic became a subject of interest to the researchers and folklorists. So we tried to identify the origins of the epic and personality of its main hero Koroghlu. Thus, we emphasize the identity of Koroglu, the geography of the distance and the territory of the *Koroglu* epic which it has spread. The theoretical and methodological basis of the article is the scientific and theoretical opinions of experts on the creation and spreading geography of the *Koroglu* epic. Basically, systematic research, historical-comparative analysis, and scientific-descriptive methods were used in the writing of research work.

Great importance in this study is placed on the crucial and significant thoughts about Koroghlu. It can be used as a valuable source of information to study the significant historical events at the end of 16–early-17 centuries in Anatolia and Azerbaijan. At the same time, this research has a high importance for further studies on the epic of *Koroghlu*. Researchers can also benefit from the historical sources citations as a valuable source of primary information on Koroghlu.

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CHARMING IN NEWFOUNDLAND: RECENT EVIDENCE

JONATHAN ROPER

ABSTRACT

While many admirable collections of the texts of charms exist, there are fewer reliable accounts of how charming is and was carried out. Based on periodic fieldwork conducted in Newfoundland, Canada, between 2000 and 2015, involving both active charmer and their clients, this article presents information on the practice of charming. Topics covered include those of the transmission of charms, reciprocity, the knowledge of how to be a charmer, the knowledge of how to be a patient, and how the tradition explains failure.

Keywords: verbal charms, charming, Newfoundland, anglophone, practice, context.

Newfoundland has been, and remains, one of the best-documented folklore regions of the entire anglophone world. Given this, we might be interested to see what we might learn about charms, charmers and charming from the Newfoundland data. The short answer, however, is that we cannot learn as much as we might want. As far as charms are concerned, we have fewer than a dozen texts. It is not surprising that among these few texts we find examples of the types *Flum Jordan* and *Super Petram*, given that the ethnographic evidence we have suggests that the three ailments most commonly treated by charming (in the twentieth century at any rate) were bleeding, toothache and warts, and that the most popular charm-types in England for staunching blood and treating toothache were *Flum Jordan* and *Super Petram*, respectively. (*Flum Jordan* and *Super Petram* were the first and fourth most popular charm-types outright in England, historically, according to Roper 2005a: 66. As for wart-charming, it was not so clearly associated with a particular charm-type). Among the small set of texts using in charming we also find Biblical verses (John 19: 32-34; Ezekiel 16: 6).[1] But beyond this, quite what other texts might have been in use in the past (or nowadays) is not ascertainable. We might surmise that if burns were treated by charming, we would find *Out Fire In Frost* here,

[1] In Lovelace (2011), chapter 9 of John is mentioned rather than 19, but this must be a misprint.

which was the most popular charm-type in England dealing with burns. Similarly if nettles grew in Newfoundland in any number, then the nettle-sting curing *Dock In Nettle Out* would no doubt have been a popular charm-type. Unfortunately, given our current state of knowledge, the best we can say regarding charms and charm-types is that the overall picture *textually* was more interesting than we can currently sketch.

If we turn from charms themselves to their practice and practitioners, we find better documentation. The best account yet of both charmers and also the practice of charming in Newfoundland is Martin Lovelace's article *Immateria Medica*, which appeared the first issue of *Incantatio* (Lovelace 2011). In this informative and insightful piece, he attempted to add to what he notes is the "remarkably scant" (37) literature on charming in Newfoundland[2] by drawing upon the unpublished holdings of the local university's folklore and language (MUNFLA), supplemented by three interviews that he and his wife made in the vicinity of the Provincial capital, St John's. Lovelace covers a great deal of ground[3] and includes examples of what Michael Owen Jones in his Newfoundland-based study (1972) called "faith healing", but he also makes four observations in his account regarding charming proper in Newfoundland, namely:

– the rule that charms should be transmitted contra-sexually does not seem to have been a hard and fast one in practice,

– there was widespread refusal by charmers of payment for charming,

– verbal charms were not intended to be understood by patients,

– charmers do not seem to have been more religious than the local norm.

(Lovelace 2011: 42, 41, 45, 42).

This article aims to supplement these observations with material drawn from my periodic visits to western Newfoundland between 2000 and 2015.[4] The people who most of the information below derives from were three elderly female charmers in western Newfoundland, who I shall call Anna, Bertha and Efie. Other information derives from people who either knew of charmers or had themselves frequented charmers as patients (or as parents bringing children as patients). In the

[2] In fact, the literature is slightly larger than Lovelace adumbrates - there are suggestive testimonies given amongst the definitions and illustrative quotations in Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (1990), e.g. *s.vv.* 'charm' (noun and verb), 'charmer', 'charming', 'cherm', 'cramp', 'doctor', 'jinker', 'north', 'plantation', 'pratie', 'put', 'rising', 'saviour's letter', 'toothache', 'wizard'. There is also the brief piece by Roper (2005b).

[3] In his article Lovelace constructs an imaginary pyramid of folk healers, with seventh sons at the apex, the next layer consisting of charmers, and the base consisting of everyday people who use transference cures that involve magical thinking. Lovelace's article is also notable for its interest in the creation of the folk healer by the community, which ascribes the role of healer to seventh sons, posthumous children, and women who marry someone of the same surname, whether these people like it or not.

[4] Much of this field research was funded by the J.R. Smallwood Foundation for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies.

interview excerpts below, I have put the words of my informants (transcribed from audio-recordings) into italics for clarity.

If we describe the ethno-confessional situational of rural Newfoundland in simple terms,[5] we can note that many of the rural areas in the vicinity of the capital are markedly Catholic (at least historically), the ancestors of many of the people there having come from south-eastern Ireland. By contrast, much of Newfoundland away from the capital and its surrounding areas has more of a Protestant (Anglican and Methodist) character, given the fact that many of the people here's ancestors came from the south-west of England. (There are of course enclavic exceptions to both of these generalizations). Now, we might expect there to be some differences in the practice of charming in these two areas of Newfoundland deriving from their ethnic and confessional differences, while at the very same time we might also expect similarities deriving from their shared Newfoundland (and more broadly, Atlantic North American) context. Indeed, another reason we might expect similarities is that in the Old World there were also some commonalities amongst the cultures of charming in these two key source areas of south-eastern Ireland and south-western England, such as the belief in the healing abilities of seventh sons.

TRANSMISSION

Firstly, we might look at the question of transmission of charms, together with the related remarkable lack of charm-texts. Lovelace suggested two reasons for this lack: firstly, a lack of documenters of charms, and, secondly, a belief amongst charmers that the telling of a charm means losing its power (see Lovelace 45-46). My initial reaction to this was that the second of his considerations was the far more important two reasons. Firstly, while charming lacked documenters in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, charming was certainly still current when the substantial activities aimed at documenting the Province's folklore began in the 1960's. Secondly, the resilience of the practice of charming means that charmers quite sensibly would not want to tell their charmers to a researcher, and lose their power. It seemed to me, at this stage, that a folklorist hoping to find charm-texts in Newfoundland might be in the unusual position of coming *too early* rather than too late to document a tradition, and that the job of documentation could only be performed at a later date when there were people who both knew charms *and* didn't believe in them, and thus would be able and willing to supply a researcher with texts. These first thoughts were nuanced somewhat by what I was told by charmers about secrecy and transmission.

For the charmers themselves seem to have an ambiguous attitude to questions of secrecy. All three agreed on the need for secrecy: *tis a secret, I can't tell you,*

[5] A much more detailed description of the (historical) ethno-confessional situation in the Province can be found in the pages of Smallwood et al. (1981-1994), especially in the individual entries for each town and village.

said one, *I can't tell anybody how I does it - it's a secret* said another, and *I knows that if you knows how to put away a wart, you're not supposed to tell anybody, coz they won't goes away* said the third. All the same, Bertha, for example, told me that passing on the charm, something which inevitably involves telling someone the charm, did not mean she would lose her own ability to use the charm:

– If you're passing it on, it's okay?

– *Yeah. They've got to keep it as a secret, same as me.*

This was a situation that she previously had had experience of, in that the man she learnt her charm from continues to use that charm after having transmitted it to her. When I asked what would happen if she simply reported the words of the charm to someone, as opposed to intentionally passing it on, she answered quite honestly: *I don't know, boy.*

Interestingly, this kind of understanding seems to have shared by the potential patients of charmers too. One of a group of women in south-west coastal community, none of whom were charmers, but whose aunt had charmed, put herself into the theoretical position of charmer and me as potential pupil, and remarked:

If I knowed it, and you wanted to take it, I could tell you. ... I could still charm.

So, if we assume that this is not an *ad hoc* explanation, but something systemic, we might also assume that the inner logic here is that the person being told the charm has to be committed to using it as a charm and as well as to not sharing the secret any further (until the time should come for them to transmit them). On this basis we might construct a model which allows for responsible and irresponsible sharing of the words of a charm. Perhaps this is how we should take Lovelace's remark about the charm being uttered in a way that was unintelligible to the patients, as that would amount to irresponsible sharing. Indeed, informants who themselves had been patients confirmed the incomprehensibility of the words of the charm in the following terms: *And she keeps what she says to herself, coz otherwise it won't work.* One charmer told me that *You just let it run through your mind*, rather than utter them aloud when charming, a practice that would certainly exclude the patients from grasping the words.

But if it is the case that transmitting a charm (sharing it responsibly) will not result in the transmitter's ability to use it, why do charmers wait so long before passing on their knowledge? Bertha's own instructor was 75 before he told her (already in her thirties, wanting to charm, and already afraid that he might pass on before having told her). Should we perhaps construct a model where the secrecy is rather a bluff on the part of charmers to maintain the value of their own epistemological capital? In this light, the maintenance of secrecy regarding the words of the charm until the latter stages of their life (an equivalent to retirement?) would be another method of preserving such capital. Or, if we take another approach, could transmission come so late (and sometimes not at all) by the difficulty of finding a suitable candidate to pass the charm on to nowadays? *I don't*

know anybody I could give my charm to when I thinks I'm ... finished with it, Bertha told me. Another woman in the room at the time asked: *What about Danny?* To which she replied: *He'd laugh at me, I spose.* I asked what type of person would be suitable to pass it on to, to which she replied: *There's no type. Just someone who believes in it.* In this case, finding someone who believes, as opposed to someone who laughs, seemed to be presenting a difficulty. (This testimony dates from 2001; in 2015, Bertha having died in the intervening period, I was to gather that local opinion suggests she did not pass on the charm before she died).

Perhaps this case is not the only example of such a difficulty in an age more sceptical towards charming than that of the charmer's own youth. Indeed, such an assumption helps us to build up an alternative explanation for the lack of charm-texts from Newfoundland – namely, that with the arrival of modernity and accessible bio-medicine in the second half of the twentieth century, the existing need for and belief in charms rapidly declined, and the charmers either did not bother to pass on their charms, or wished to but were prevented by a lack of suitable candidates to transmit them to. In such a model, the folklorists arrived, as so often before, just a little to late.

I now wonder whether I had mistaken ideas about the continued strength of charming. Given that I came from a country where the most convincing account of the history of traditional verbal charming in the modern era (that of Owen Davies, e.g. 1998) sets the terminus of the practice in the 1970s (and its decline in the century before this), a country where I was always having to explain that my research concerned verbal, and not material, charms, was it the case that upon entering a territory where the word 'charm' itself was still widely understood by the general public (in its verbal sense) and where the practice was known about in rural areas, I may have overemphasized the resilience of the practice in the present day. My informants certainly saw charming as something in decline. Bertha complained: *My crowd* [i.e. the younger generation of her immediate family] *laughs at me, when someone phones me to be charmed.* To which another woman present appended the comment: *It's not used as much today.* Likewise the charmer Anna remarked *Not many people come* [nowadays, because] *a lot of people don't believe it.*

By contrast, the husband of the charmer Efie suggested that: *A lot of people come to her.* Such a ready supply of clients is contrary to the experience of Bertha and Anna, and it is interesting that such a claim was not made by Efie herself, and it is also noteworthy that this remark followed a series of success stories he told about his wife's charmings. Certainly Efie's ability and practice was known by others in her village – a group of women remarked that the *Wart thing still goes on* (referring to the activities of Efie which they knew of), but these same women were not sure about the currency of charms for nosebleeds, which suggests that they did not know of any other charmers in the vicinity. And if there was indeed only one charmer in this village and its neighbours, this could be taken as a sign of the decline of the practice of charming in Newfoundland more broadly.

To turn to another of his observations, as we have noted, Lovelace remarked that the contra-sexual route of transmitting charms was not "inevitable" in practice. However Bertha and Anna were able and willing to say both who they got their charm from and who that person got the charm from. In Bertha's case it was from her father who got it from his mother, and in Anna's case it was from her brother-in-law who got it from his own mother. Apart from the remarkable fact that transmission was within (near) kin-groups, the other thing that stands out from these testimonies is that the transmission, in both cases female-male-female, *did* follow the contra-sexual route. I asked both of them who they could pass it on to, and here Lovelace's observation may have more force, for although I had the following exchange with Anna, in which she made the contra-sexual rule explicit:

– In time you will tell somebody

– *Okay.*

– And that can be a man or a woman?

– *No, a man. ... A woman's supposed to tell a man, and a man's supposed to tell a woman.*

Bertha, by contrast, remarked that she could pass it to either a male *or* a female.

RECIPROCITY

Whatever the diversity of the views of the three charmers was on aspects of their practice, one area where they was complete accord was on the matter of not receiving payment for their charming:

– You don't take any money for this?

– *No.*

and

–You don't take money for it?

– *Oh no, I don't take nothing.*

But on the general topic of reciprocity there was less agreement. Was it acceptable or customary to receive gifts? Bertha suggested that this might happen:

– What about gifts?

– *Well I suppose that would be up to anyone's self. But no-one's ever offered to pay... But people do appreciate it just the same.*

Whereas Efie said the following about getting gifts in exchange for charming:

[I] doesn't get presents, just a thank-you. I just do it for myself.

There was also difference in regarding the acceptability of the patient thanking the charmer. Bertha was aware that: *Some say you shouldn't say thank*

you. But also that: *It sounds better if you say thank you!,* whereas Anna thought it was not acceptable. Neighbours in Efie's village who had been charmed, or in one case had had an aunt who charmed, knew that the charmers would not take money for charming, and that they were not supposed to say 'thank you'.

Regarding Lovelace's final observation – on the religiosity of charmers – I regret I have next to no data, though it seems quite plausible. Just as I had expectations prior to coming Newfoundland from my English background, so I had expectations which derived from my M.A. fieldwork with charmers in Estonia. All three of the charmers I met in southern Estonia were more religious than their neighbours and contemporaries. But perhaps within the ideological context they had spent most of their lives – that of atheistic dialectal materialism – it is not at all surprising that the two 'supernatural' beliefs, that of Christianity and that of charming, should pattern together.

Needless to say, the historical background in Newfoundland is rather different. Sometimes there seems to be an overlap between charming and Christianity, when for example Bertha told me the words she uses *came from the Bible.* This response could suggest she used Biblical verses, or it may rather be a recognition of the Biblical register and characters to be found in charms using apocryphal narratives. In another case, I was told by someone who knew a blood-stauching charm that 'It's a special prayer', which was a particularly strong identification of a charm as being something compatible with Christianity.

But at other times there seems to be disapproval by Christians of charming. When I asked Anna: 'is it like the Bible, the thing you do?', trying to elicit an answer about the charm's content (whether the charm featured Christian personages and a Biblical-type narrative), she took my question in another way, as something regarding the moral acceptability of charming:

Well, I'm goina tell you this: some people ... don't think tis right. Some people thinks tis not right for ye to do it. But I don't see why there's any harm to that.

This response reveals her awareness of the disapproval of others locally. Beyond this somewhat mixed picture, I can say little more on the religiosity of charmers in Newfoundland.[6]

THE KNOWLEDGE OF HOW TO BE A CHARMER

To return to the topic of transmission. The passing on of a short set of words is a reasonably straightforwardish matter, especially if there are not many of them,

[6] Once in England, I was told by the owner of a handwritten eighteenth-century household book that the healing words in it were from the Bible. After she had had another look at the book, after having being asked to check if they really were from the Bible, she acknowledged that they must be apocryphal. This seems to me another example of how the Biblical register and personnel of apocryphal charms projects them as something Christian.

and they rhyme, and the listener is intent on memorizing them, though of course if the transfer is oral rather than written, there is every possibility for some minor variation to creep in (see Roper 1998, and 2005a: 164-190, esp.171-174). But there is another question regarding transmission, which as we remember is not just a transmission of the words of a charm, but also of the ability to charm, and that is a question that I have not yet found addressed in the literature of charms studies – namely, how knowledge of how to be a successful charmer is transmitted. Thinking of this, I asked Bertha:'When your father was telling you the charm was he also telling you the rules to it?', to which she replied:

Well, there's no rule to it, except that: you say this in your own mind, and that's all there is to it.

But that *wasn't* 'all there was to it', as she was also told by her father to keep the charm secret:

– And he also told you not to tell anybody?

– *Yes, yeah.*

Likewise she had heard from (unspecified) people that the patient should not say 'thank you'. When I asked if she thought it would be okay for a patient to thank a charmer, it became clear that she didn't have a firm view:

Well, it's home stuff I guess, ... haven't really got to.

In other words, she saw thanking for being charmed as being like thanking-for broadly, more a matter of domestic norms and habits than (it seems) something that could imperil the effect of the charm. Certainly it is the case here that, while she had heard from other people (potential patients) about what a patient should not do, she had not taken a view on whether that prohibition was correct or not herself. But it is perfectly conceivable that in other cases the knowledge of how to be a charmer, including the knowledge of what to instruct your patient to do (and not to do) may not (only) come from a single individual at a single point in time, i.e. the charmer you learnt the words from at the same time as you learn those words. It is conceivable that learning how to charm, how to be a charmer, could be more of a long-term form of learning, and one that does not just involve hearing things from and observing charmers, but also being challenged by the expectations of your patients to behave in a certain way. This whole topic is one that is a great avenue for future research in charms studies.

KNOWLEDGE OF HOW TO BE A SUCCESSFUL PATIENT

Another theme that interested me was how knowledge of being a successful patient was transmitted. Just as we might imagine veteran and well-informed patients being key in making the charmer behave (more) like a charmer, the charmers

themselves may be key in the process of transmitting the knowledge of how to be a successful patient. With this in mind, from time to time I would ask charmers what they told their patients. The results were mixed. Bertha responded to my question: 'You tell em beforehand that belief is important?', with the answer: *Yeh. They'd be no use getting it done, if you don't believe it.* Whereas as discussion about the patients not being allowed to thank the charmer led me to the following exchange with Anna:

– Are they allowed to say please and thank you?
– *I don't think so.*
– So you tell them that?
– *I don't tell them anything.*

So this charmer claimed not to have instructed their clients at all. Yet to go by the reports of clients, other charmers did advise their patients on what not to do. One had been told not to look at the warts for a set number of days by the charmer, another two had been told not to say thank you by the charmer (a different charmer in each case). I suspect that the role of charmer in instructing their clients on how to be good patients (in creating the patient role) is an important if uninvestigated one.

SUCCESS

It was clear from talking to charmers and their clients that the success rate of charmers was not a 100% one. *Whether it will work or not on some you can't tell*, Anna remarked. Similarly one woman had her son charmed, but it did not work, although she also knew another child (a girl) who had been successfully treated by the same charmer. Any form of folk-medicine (just as any form of bio-medicine) will gain in (or at least not lose) authority if it has plausible explanations for its own failure. When I asked Anna if her wart-charming always worked she said:

I have a put them away, and they haven't a went. But I thinks I hadn't had all the warts. There's some thing somewhere I didn't get. ... Sometimes I figure what gets you ... the warts goes on your fingers, and some of them goes together, you know what I mean? They're too close, they're closed together-like. ... That's how you gets spattered [?] *up with that, putting away a wart.*

The explanation in this case is that the charmer must know the exact number of warts, and miscounting them, because some have grown together, is the source of the procedure's failure: *it's no good for me to put away your warts if I don't know how many you've got*, she remarked.

There may be other preconditions for success which I did not uncover. But we can say that one of the variables *not* affecting success (at least today in the era of the telephone) is the physical presence of the patient. Anna remarked:

– *When I knows how many warts they have, I don't have to have them here.*

– Oh, they don't have to be in the same room as you?
– *No.*
– So you can do it by telephone?
– *Yes, if I know how many warts you have.*

Efie's husband confirmed that it was not necessary for her to see or to touch her patient, just to know their full name, and that she had succeeded in curing people on the mainland of Canada remotely from the island of Newfoundland. Likewise, the use (or non-use) of special objects in charming was not a variable affecting the success of charming. *I don't use nothing – just my mind*, Efie remarked. (Of course, transfer cures, such as rubbing a piece of pork skin on a wart, and throwing this out, perhaps to be eaten by a dog, do require the use of what we might call 'props', but such transfer cures are often non-verbal practice, as is the traditional method for healing a 'wis' (a sty) on the eye, which involves it being rubbed with a wedding ring).

CLOSE

There is more that might be said on the practice of charming to heal in Newfoundland,[7] and there is also much that might be said on charming as part of love divination.[8] But I should like to close this survey by focusing on two particular areas of interest, which might warrant further investigation both in Newfoundland and more broadly. The first of these is the occasional appearance of what appear to be pre-formed sayings about charming. Bertha expressed the widespread notion that warts should be forgotten about by the patient after the charming in not to delay the healing process in the following terms: *The more you*

[7] Of course, three one-off interviews do not make a large or a thick corpus (Honko 2000), but it is a start. Future studies might go deeper into what I cover here, and also concentrate upon the following themes: the role of secrecy in the success/failure of charms; how the existence of more than one charmer within a restricted geographical area at the same time played out socially, how failures are explained; whether the belief, found for example sometimes in England, that a charmer can not die (or cannot die peacefully) unless their charm has been passed on, exists in Newfoundland, and how its presence or absence fits into the general pattern of the survival/disappearance of charming. The narratives of the charmers, especially those contrasting the failure of biomedicine and the success of charming in a particular case, might be examined. The narratives of patients might also be elicited - where they, for example, trepidant about visiting the charmer? And patients' understandings about what they think charmers' rules and practices might be could be examined.

[8] Love-divination charms seem to have been widespread on the island of Newfoundland. Given this, it worth noting how the two chief forms of charming differ in so many aspects: transmission of love-divination charms is not by elders but by age-mates; transmission of love-divination charms is not contra-sexual, but mostly single-sexual; love-divination charms can be said by anyone, not just by a specialist (a charmer); the object of the love-divination charm is distant, unlike the patient of a healing charm who is present (or in touch by being virtually present via the telephone); love divination charms do not contain any Biblical (or Apocryphal) elements in their texts; love-divination charms are an overwhelmingly female domain. One might also note that warning tales about what bad things might result from love charming (stories of the *Leonore* type, for instance) do not seem to be matched by warning tales about the use of healing charms.

watch them, the longer they'll stay. This is a use of the traditional syntactic frame 'the more *x*, the more *y*', as instanced in sayings such as 'the more, the merrier', 'the more sheep, the dearer is the wool', 'the more the fox is praised, the better he fares', 'the more beans, the fewer for a penny', 'the more cooks, the worse broth', 'the more you rub a cat on the rump, the higher she sets up her tail', to give some examples drawn from Apperson (1929).[9] A charmer's client told me the same in terms at once more diffuse and more exact: *You're not supposed to look at them for ten days*. Another proverbial usage was produced by Efie, who remarked:

There's nine girls, and the seventh girl is meant to have the charm. That's what they always say. They say, the seventh brother is a doctor.

It's worth attending to the two instance of 'they say' here. The first 'they say' (in fact, 'they always say') serves to confirm something as being a generally-accepted truth: "That's what they always say". The second 'they say' is an example of what Čermak calls a 'proverb introducer' (2014: 157-180), a verbal tag which leads into the statement of a truth proverbially. The kind of knowledge that can appear in a diffuse form (see Roper 2005b) is here set forth with proverbial concision: "they say, the seventh brother is a doctor".

The second particularly striking aspect of the conversations with charmers was their own testimony about what they themselves think about being a charmer and their expression of feelings of being thankful, of being amazed: *I really think it's a wonderful thing*, said Bertha. And Efie showed her continued amazement at the results of charming with the words: *It's unreal!*

It would be interesting to know how widespread, both in time and in space, are such expressions of thankfulness and wonderment by charmers at their gift.

APPENDIX

Late in the summer of 2015, I discovered to my surprise that in a village I had visited on four previous occasions, and where I had asked about charming from various sources only to be invariably told that it was not practiced any more, contained an active charmer. Very fortunately the charmer kindly agreed to write an account in her own words of her knowledge, practice and experience. Such written testimonies are highly valuable documents which can serve to broaden our view of charming by giving us the practitioner's own firsthand understanding in a form more extended form than that of answers to interview question. This account appears below in lightly edited form. If I were to highlight just one theme in the account below, it would be that in contrast to Lovelace's observation about the religiosity of charmers, this charmer *is*, and her father who she gained the charm from was, more religious than the local norm:

[9] As the examples make clear, the second comparative need not be 'more', so the underlying form might better: 'the more *x*, the [COMPARATIVE] *y*'.

My father did charms for people who asked. It was for various illnesses, such as toothaches, and other assorted ailments, and even if a person was just feeling generally unwell. He charmed over the telephone, as far away as Alberta. One of my cousins had a lump in her breast and after the area was charmed, the lump disappeared. My father often said, he knew he was not the healer, God was. He also said that the people wanting a charm should have faith and believe that God would heal them.

Before Dad died, he passed the charm onto me. After he died, my sister, bought a floor lamp to donate to the Palliative Care Room at the Hospital, in memory of our father. The reason we wanted the lamp for the Palliative Care Room was so its light would shine and help patients and families at their sad times. As we were on our way to deliver the lamp, my sister said to me: "Charm the lamp, so it will bring peace and comfort to all who die in that room and their family." So I charmed the lamp, and we placed it in the Palliative Care Room. The very next morning, my sister, a nurse at the hospital at that time, was standing outside of the room where a woman was dying. The daughter of the woman said: "My, that lamp gave my Mother and us such peace and comfort last night." It gave us a great feeling to have the charm validated, so soon after placing the charmed lamp in the room.

I charm people if they ask. If I see visible signs of an illness or something troubling a person, then I will ask if they would like me to charm them. I have charmed over the telephone, as far away as Toronto, Ontario. The charm my father passed onto me involves making the sign of the cross 9 times, with the ring finger of the left hand, on the area of the pain, and saying in your mind a specific Bible verse, and saying the person's first and middle names, then "Your faith will make you whole". I also put the person on my prayer list. I believe that the person doing the charm and the person receiving the charm must have total faith in God.

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ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF KLAPA SINGING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HARMONIC EAR IN SOLFEGGIO CLASS

VEDRANA MARKOVIĆ, ANDREA ĆOSO PAMER

ABSTRACT

In the framework of the project *Identity Elements in the Montenegrin Music as a Basis for Development of Multiculturalism and Interculturalism*[1] we focus on, among other things, implementation of appropriate contents from the Montenegrin music heritage in a contemporary solfeggio class. Klapa singing, as multipart a cappella singing which is characteristic of the Bay of Kotor and Montenegrin Littoral, attracted our attention. Having in mind that klapa singing in the Bay of Kotor was mostly influenced by klapa singing of neighboring Croatia, we identified this type of traditional singing as an element that can significantly affect the affirmation of multiculturalism and development of intercultural dialogue. This work will show the manner in which klapa singing can contribute to development of the harmonic ear in the framework of a solfeggio class and which methodical procedures the teacher can apply by using klapa music as didactic material.

Keywords: Montenegrin music heritage; music school; a cappella singing.

INTRODUCTION

Klapa singing is a recognizable element of Montenegrin music heritage, characteristic of the Bay of Kotor and the Littoral. Klapa singing in neighboring Croatia had the largest influence on development of such multipart a cappella singing. We can learn about klapa singing tradition in Montenegro thanks to records of the Czech travel writer, painter and folklorist Ludvik Kuba (1863-1956) who visited Montenegro on several occasions and wrote down different forms of folklore music practice. Primorac points out: "The Bay of Kotor, as strongly evident from Kuba's notes, had a rich practice of two-part, three-part and four-part singing in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. It was entirely related to

[1] The project is implemented at the Music Academy Cetinje since 2013 and is part of the National Projects group. It is supported by the Ministry of Science and Ministry of Culture of Montenegro.

the same music expression in the neighboring Dalmatia and today's klapa music in the Bay of Kotor emerged from this type of singing. However, multipart singing that Kuba recorded in the Bay of Kotor so systematically was not, in a certain way, overshadowed by the Dalmatian music of the same type, during his time. This happened much later, not earlier than the 1960s, with the rise of the popular Dalmatian music and organized klapa singing. Even though many klapa performers and followers ever since then and even today think that it has been "imported" from Dalmatia to the Bay of Kotor as a relatively new tradition, we have to emphasize that the Bay of Kotor has its own very long klapa tradition, something we wouldn't have known if Ludvik Kuba hadn't presented it.[2]

By identifying the importance that klapa singing can have in development of the harmonic ear, we shall show some possibilities of using klapa music as didactic examples in a solfeggio class at the music schools in Montenegro.

Within the framework of teaching solfeggio, development of the melodic ear and sense of rhythm are usually highlighted as the basic goals. However, Hinek[3] points out that the ability to clearly understand the harmonic movement is one of the most complex indicators of *true music literacy*[4]. The harmonic ear implies the ability to understand a simultaneous sound of two or more tones. "Under certain circumstances, the ear can separate some components from that structure, but such an analysis does not lead to losing the impression of a different phenomenon: unity in a multitude and a multitude in unity. Function of the musical ear which enables differentiating between harmonic phenomena in the unity of their complexity is called the harmonic ear".[5]

The harmonic ear is developed in the instrumental class and several theoretical and practical teaching courses, but especially through solfeggio, harmony and counterpoint. Also, it has to be taken into account that only solfeggio, out of the mentioned courses, is studied at the elementary music school, whereas the other two courses are taught at the secondary school level of music education.

By analyzing a teaching practice in Montenegro, one can notice that almost every activity in harmony class is only focused on theoretical interpretation of the teaching material and solving tasks in written.

This can cause a certain saturation and monotony in students and distance them from the real music practice. Therefore, it is necessary to conceive the work on development of the harmonic ear in the framework of solfeggio course in a way that will catch students' attention and interest, which can be achieved by using klapa

[2] *Lirica* No. 1/2013: 10.

[3] Hinek 2006.

[4] True music literacy implies the knowledge and skills in the field of intonation and rhythm which enables singing a music text, as well as understanding an auditively presented example so it can be writen down as a notation, unlike the ostensible music literacy which is limited to making sound against a note text with the help of an instrument (Rojko, 1996).

[5] Radičeva 1997: 96.

singing examples. Through application of examples from the traditional Montenegrin folklore, we are introducing the folk music richness to students and reaching the goals and tasks of solfeggio teaching at the same time. Harmonic ear should be developed from the start of music education and work on its development must be a mandatory activity in each solfeggio class. "In solfeggio class, the harmonic ear is developed by intonation and observation of degrees, intervals and chords, by singing multipart examples, working on multipart dictation, harmonic accompaniment of melodic singing examples, as well as working on intonation and observation of attunement and mutual connection of chords in the framework of clear diatonic scale, modulation and alterations".[6]

KLAPA SONGS AS DIDACTIC MATERIAL

Among other things, development of the harmonic ear can be achieved by singing klapa songs which are traditionally performed at the Montenegrin Littoral, especially in the Bay of Kotor. Their sensibility is, surely, closer to our students than performing multipart examples from the French, Bulgarian and other foreign literature. Beside developing students' initiative, criticism, creative opinion and curiosity, multipart singing also affects development of the inner ear which implies "ability of inner sound attribution, reflective notion and experiencing music based on previously acquired music impressions, with music memory and music imagination".[7]

The most important value of the majority of klapa songs for solfieggo class is reflected in their rhythmic and melodic simplicity. In order to introduce a klapa song to students so that it is understood and adopted, it is necessary to become familiar with its music structure and focus on elements that make the klapa song a specific form[8]. Regardless of the age of the students to whom the klapa song is presented, its main characteristics must be included: a cappella singing and homophony. In addition to that, klapa song is characterized by solo beginning of the first soprano or tenor (Example 1) which has to be calm, innovatively stable and clear; rhythm that is often free, ritardando at the end of the song, strophes. It is very important that, in the framework of the introductory activities, the students listen to klapa songs, to notice and make comments on their characteristics, to become familiar with them and to fall in love with klapa singing.

Diatonic scale is also suitable for the elementary school students in solfeggio class, which is mostly seen in a klapa song, but there are other examples with mutation, alterations and modulations, adequate for high school age. A characteristic of a klapa song is that it is mostly in major, but there are also rarer examples in minor tonalities.

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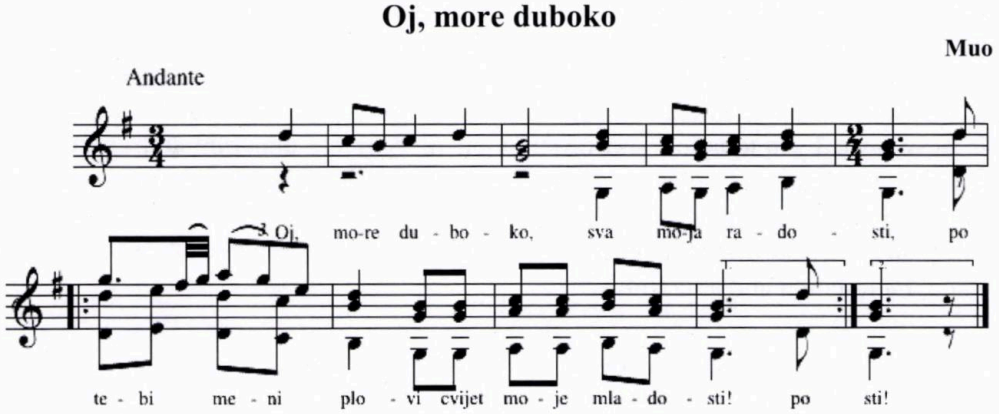
[6] Olujić 1990: 7
[7] Radičeva 1997: 96
[8] Ćoso and Marković 2015.

Example No. 1[9]

Numerous examples of klapa singing have already found their place in literature intended for music schools in Croatia. Beside the fact that students become familiar with music tradition through the education system, klapa singing finds its application in the solfeggio course, especially when it comes to development of the harmonic ear. Important authors are Franjo Lučić[10] and Miroslav Magdalenić[11], who base adoption of music concept upon a folk song. Significance of such an approach to intonation and rhythm is also confirmed by a statement that "a folk song is the most complete expression of spiritual life of a nation and that it is most suitable for child's sense of melody".[12]

In solfeggio teaching at elementary schools in Montenegro, the closest attention is paid to development of the melodic ear, whereas working on development of the harmonic ear is linked with secondary school teaching level. However, it is required to start applying different forms of working on development of the harmonic ear at the elementary music school, with an aim of creating necessary basis for later development of the harmonic ear and advancement at older age of students.

One of the first forms of working on development of the harmonic ear is *singing cadenza*. Students are introduced to singing cadenza at the beginning of music education. At first, those are songs that contain disassembled chords of main functions in their melody; tonic, subdominant and dominant (Example 2).

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[9] Primorac and Marjanović 2015: 250.

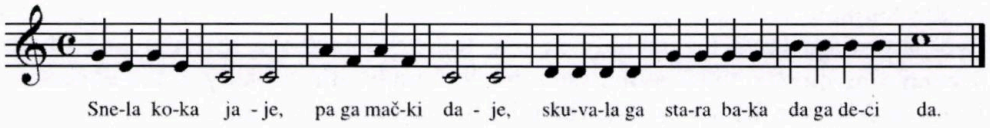
[10] Franjo Lučić (1889-1972) is an author of the textbook *Elementary Music and Singing Theory for Secondary and Music Schools (II part).* The textbook was published in 1940 and it contains a large selection of folk and multipart choir compositions, so it can also be used as a book for dictations and singing a prima vista.

[11] Miroslav Magdalenić (1906-1969), is an author of the textbook *One-Part and Two-Part Solfeggio Based on Folk Music Expression for General Education and Music Schools, I and II volume,* published in 1961 and 1962.

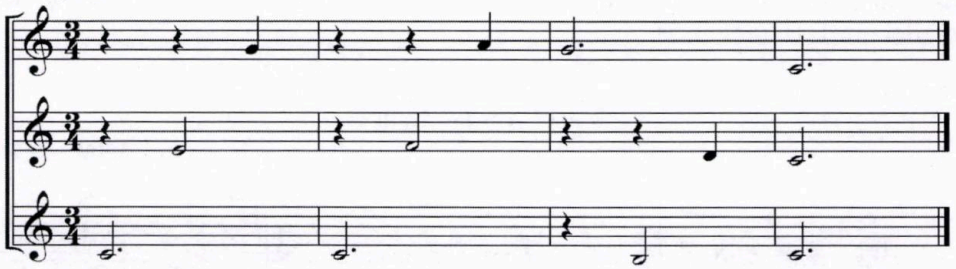
[12] Rojko 1999: 23.

Example No. 2[13]

Snela koka jaje

M. Vasiljević

It is very important that intonation of cadenza is backed by the appropriate chord accompaniment. In this way, notions of cadenza start emerging, not only as a melodic, but also a harmonic phenomenon, despite the fact that students in that age are still not familiar with this matter. Therefore, it is significant that students sing as many major and minor songs as possible, in order to learn how to distinguish between two opposite tonal kinds and to sing songs with mutation. Compositions in different tonal types should be juxtaposed in classes dedicated to listening to music, so that their identification becomes easier and faster with time. Then students can start with two-part and three-part singing of cadenza, followed by observation of the harmonic functions. This can happen in a following way: The teacher splits the students into three parts where the first part will sing the first tone and will continue until the end of the first measure, the second part shall "enter" at the second counting unit and sing the half, and the third part joins in at the third counting unit. The third measure will have the reverse order and everybody will finish singing simultaneously at the same tone.

Vasiljević explains that this provides avoiding the notation image and confusion about multipart singing which would definitely perplex the students (Example 3).

Example No. 3[14]

It is highly possible that, after harmonic singing of cadenza, students differentiate between which triple chord or function they heard, but with the given choice of one harmony out of two that are offered. After first exercises where the linking of the tonic with the subdominant or dominant can be observed, the teacher can play triple chords at the I, IV and V degree and the students read if the first, fourth or leading tone is

[13] Radičeva 1997: 164.
[14] Vasiljević 2000: 302.

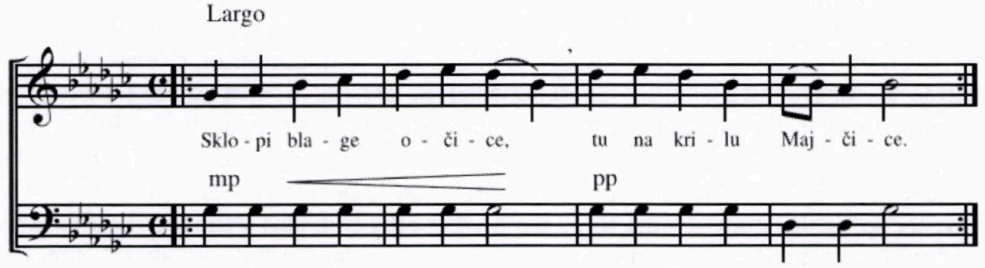
found in the chord, "…and with terminology of chord functions or simple questions: do you hear the tone Do, Si or Fa in the triple chord".[15]

Singing songs with burden is a very useful form of working on development of the harmonic ear and one of the simplest ways of two-part singing. The first two-part songs have the melody in one tone, whereas the melodic line of the second tone mostly "lies" at the same pitch. Usually, the melody at the upper part is developed over the lower part which is still. (Example No. 4).

Example No. 4[16]

Sklopi blage očice

(Croatia)

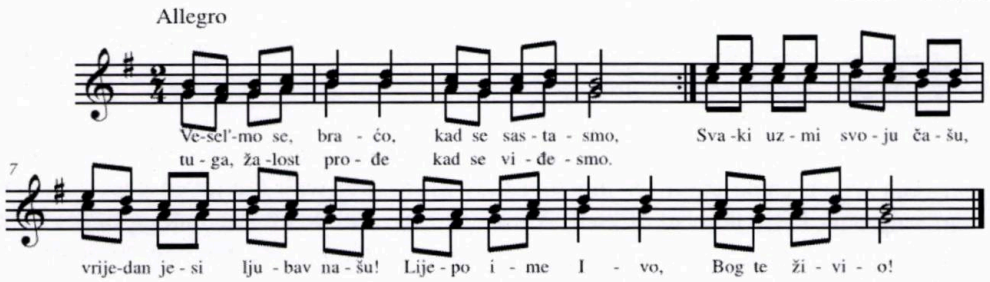
arrangement Lj. S. D.

The teacher splits the students into two groups only after they reached security in intonation and rhythm. Singing these songs can be done in several ways:

1. Students listen to the songs and teacher plays or sings the burden;
2. Roles can be replaced;
3. The teacher can divide the students into two groups and the song is performed in two-part.

One more way of working on two-part singing is singing in parallel sixths and parallel thirds (Example 5).

Example No. 5[17]

Vesel'mo se, braćo

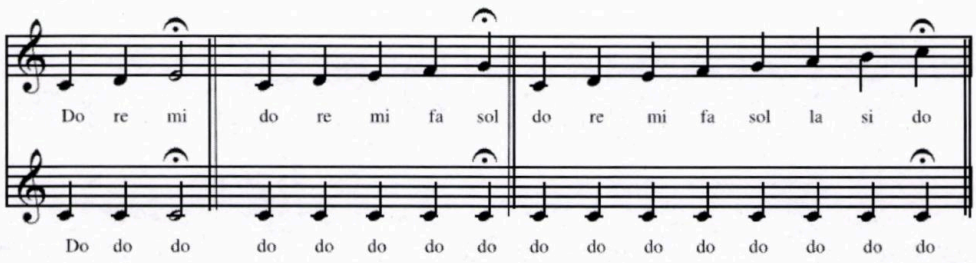
Kotor – Perast

Allegro
Ve-sel'-mo se, bra - ćo, kad se sas - ta - smo, Sva -ki uz - mi svo - ju ča - šu,
tu - ga, ža -lost pro - đe kad se vi - đe - smo.
7
vrije-dan je - si lju - bav na - šu! Lije - po i - me I - vo, Bog te ži - vi - o!

[15] Vasiljević 2000: 309.
[16] Stipišić 2006:181 (fragment).
[17] Primorac and Marjanović 2015: 242.

However, only when the students start singing in three-part, their singing could be called klapa singing. The four-part singing starts when the students thoroughly learn the three-part singing.

Generating an idea on harmonic intervals starts with observation of the melodic interval tones and, after adopting and identifying them the next thing is their simultaneous sound, i.e. harmonic interval. The simplest melodic movement which the students already know is always a starting point. The teacher plays the first part of a familiar song, students listen and repeat with a neutral or solmization syllable and, at the end, the teacher repeats both tones at the same time. Intervals can be presented as elements of quintal chord, but also as distance between scale degrees. Some methodologists, such as Zorislava Vasiljević, recommend that observation of the two-part tones should be the starting point[18], whereas others, such as Dorina Radičeva, start with identifying the three harmonic functions.[19] If latter is used, it is necessary to think about every possible chord combination during listening, because it is about a three-part or four-part reduced to two tones, which can represent a difficulty in a younger age.

Auditory reading of the intervals can be preceded by two-part singing. Radičeva proposes the following procedure: The classroom is split into two groups. One group stays at the first "floor" (do), whereas the other group goes from the first to the third (do re mi), staying at a third harmonic interval. In the same way, the students intone a fifth and octave interval (Example 6).

Example No. 6[20]

When it comes to auditory reading, Radičeva proposes a procedure which is applicable in the initial class as well, when the students are still not music literate: The teacher begins with unison and plays until the third degree. Students follow the movement and read at which "floor" the teacher stopped. The teacher plays a third harmonic interval and students respond with "the first and third".

Harmonic observation of the chord tones leads to working on observation of harmonic connections.

[18] Vasiljević 2000.
[19] Radičeva 2000.
[20] Radičeva 1997: 174.

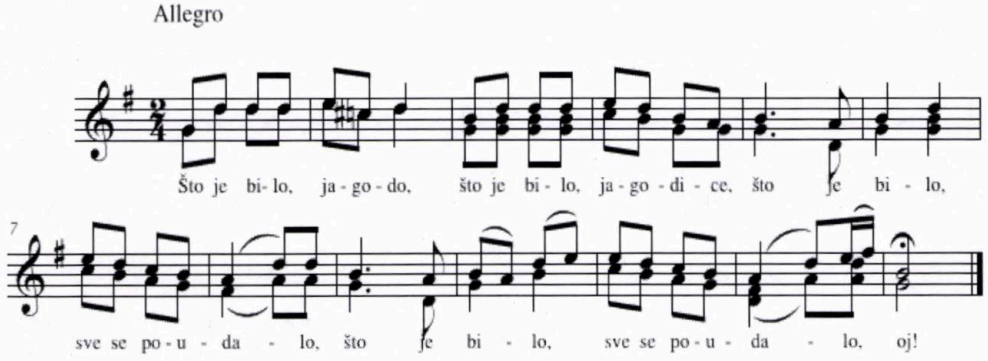
Students should always be encouraged to a more active listening to the lower sound in two-part in order to develop the ability of observing and identifying the lower registers. In this manner, their ability to observe the entire lower section in two-part shall be developed, and later, even the lowest section in the three-part movement.

Some authors, such as Zorislava Vasiljević, suggest that observation of intervals in simultaneous performance usually starts with a third, sixth and fifth, without the interval analysis. There is a second where one can observe the lower tone, then the upper one, while having in mind that the attention is always bottom-up focused. By analyzing the interval after observing and writing, the students are introduced to manner of perceiving a music text for the purpose of theoretical understanding; therefore, dictation is used for getting accustomed to analytical consideration of tonal relations and developing the music opinion. Vasiljević points out that simultaneous observation of the upper and lower tone in two-part with naming the recognized pitches leads to a successful writing of the two-part dictation.[21]

Ljubo Stipišić Delmata[22] in his collection *My First 100 Songs for Children's Klapas and School Gatherings* provides a large number of examples for setting up intervals.[23] There is a large number of songs in the Montenegrin music heritage as well, that can be used in a proposed manner.

Example No. 7[24]

Što je bilo, jagodo

Muo

Generating an auditory idea on tonic function as a harmonic center of tonalities is one of the most important tasks in solfeggio class. It can unfold in a way in which the teacher proposes two harmonic endings of chord accompaniment

[21] Vasiljević 2000.

[22] Ljubo Stipišić Delmata (1938-2011), Croatian ethnomusicologist, score-writer, conductor, composer, founder and numerous klapas' lead.

[23] Stipišić 2006.

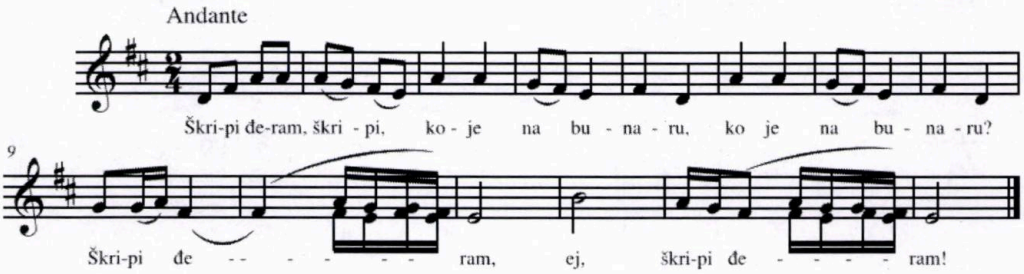
[24] Primorac and Marjanović 2015: 260.

of a song that is already known to students. The task of the students shall be to opt for a more logical and convincing ending.

One of the ways of working on determining the tonic functions is to intone the songs that contain a tonic quintal chord at the very beginning of the melody. By singling out and intoning the text, and afterward, by the neutral syllable and solmization, as well as application of transposition, the tonic quintal chord is determined as intonation framework (Example 8).

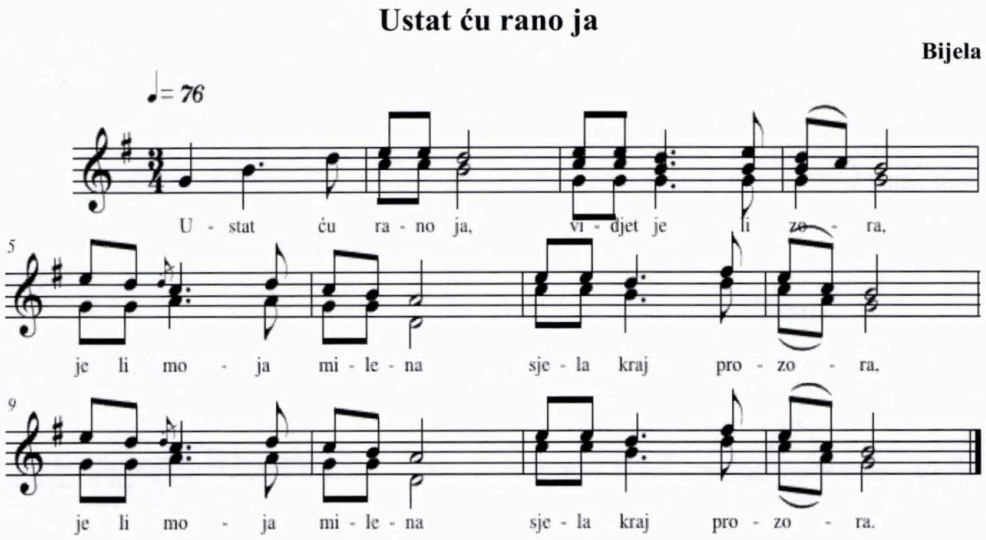
Example No. 8[25]

Škripi đeram, ko je na bunaru

Risan

By *two-part singing of canons* the students' ability of dividing attention to own singing and listening to another sound is developed. In addition to that, two-part singing leads to rhythmic unity and stable pace maintenance, as well as to being part of the collective, group music making. Performing canons is introduced gradually. Students sing a melody while the teacher plays another sound. After practicing the canon in this way, students perform it while split into two groups. The aim is to make students able to succeed in pairs, without the support of the teacher, to maintain the intonation, rhythm and pace and to sing the canon. It should be noticed that there are no examples in the original klapa singing which contain a literal imitation from beginning until the end through both sounds (having in mind that klapa music is primarily homophonic). However, polyphonic elements can be seen in contemporary interpretation intended for klapa singing, in the form of a short initial theme which is imitated through sounds.

There is often a one-part solo in klapa singing appearing at the beginning, so that the movement is developed across two-part to the three-part harmonic movement (Example No. 9). When the teacher evaluates that students mastered the two-part singing, they can move on to three-part examples. Prior to that, students need to be well familiar with all triple chords, in theoretical, as well as auditory and intonation context.

[25] Primorac and Marjanović 2015: 280.

Example No. 9[26]

Ustat ću rano ja
Bijela
♩= 76
U - stat ću ra - no ja, vi - djet je li zo - ra,
5
je li mo - ja mi - le - na sje - la kraj pro - zo - ra,
9
je li mo - ja mi - le - na sje - la kraj pro - zo - ra.

An important area in teaching solfeggio is the work on *three-part and observation of harmonic connections.* Observation of harmonic connections is a good preparation for three-part dictation. They should be adapted to students' age and patiently worked upon. The sequence of chords is clearer in comparison to one-part or two-part melody lines in dictation where students alone should imagine appropriate chords and understand the functions. The development of tonal way of thinking, with precisely designed way of work with chords, paves the way towards two-part and three-part dictation. In three-part movement there are augmented triads, diminished tetrads and sometimes dyads with one twin tone. The sequence of chords is logical and matches the sequence that is used in designing the tasks in harmony lessons. In first examples the chords of the main functions are observed and noted down, while subsequently the number of chords is gradually increased by adding the chords that represent substitutes.

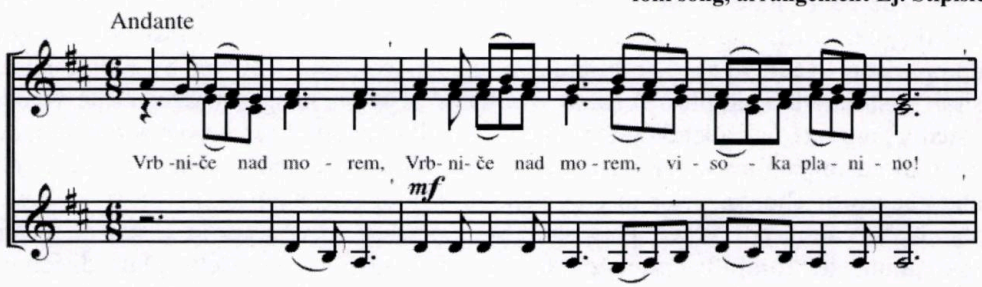
There are a great number of klapa songs that can be played to students as examples for observing the harmonic connections. Once students master the main and secondary chords in three-part movement, there are numerous examples where voices do not move simultaneously that can be observed and noted down (Example 10).

[26] Marjanović Krstić 1998: 188.

Example No. 10[27]

Vrabniče nad morem

(island Krk)

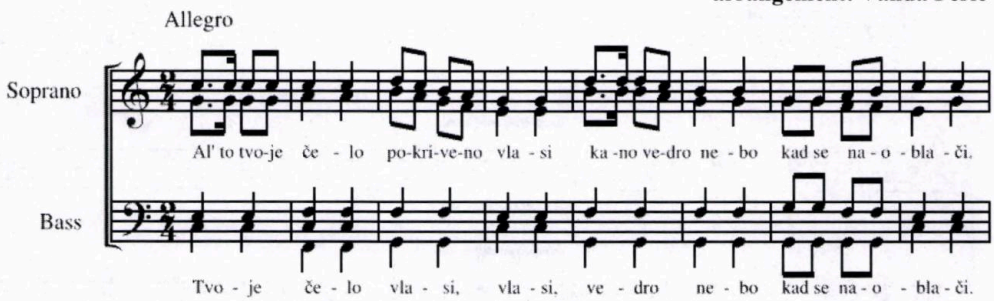
folk song, arrangement Lj. Stipišić

An unavoidable area in solfeggio subject is the work on *observation and intonation of tunings in relation to chamber's tone*. In solfeggio teaching tuning represents a process of intonation of composition's tonic triad or a melodic exercise based on chamber's tone or its observation prior to the very writing down of melodic dictation. "Intonation of tuning leads to stabilization of tonality that is processed while observation of tunings leads to conscious noticing of harmonic relations".[28] Observation of tunings contributes to the development of harmonic ear which is one of important goals in solfeggio teaching.

The beginning of work on four-part should be based upon the setting of chords in harmonic four-part movement, linking and dealing with diatonic triads and tetrads. They are being learned through short examples which in the initial phase contain only quintal chords of the main levels (Example 11).

Example No. 11[29]

Al' to tvoje čelo pokriveno vlasi

Muo

arrangement: Vanda Ferić

Allegro
Soprano
Al' to tvo-je če - lo po-kri-ve-no vla - si ka -no ve-dro ne - bo kad se na - o - bla - či.
Bass
Tvo - je če - lo vla - si, vla - si, ve - dro ne - bo kad se na - o - bla - či.

[27] Stipišić 2006: 77.
[28] Olujić 1990: 19.
[29] Primorac and Marjanović 2015: 399.

Only when clear understanding about the main functions is ensured, quintal chords at secondary levels are introduced. With their application the cadenza is increasing. Special attention should be given to so-called deceptive cadenza that represents a frequent phenomenon in klapa music.

The next phase of work consists of introduction of heptachords at II, V and VII degree. Practicing of those is carried out gradually, firstly by hearing through comparison to already existing and familiar chords, and later on by reproducing short instructive examples. A short examples of klapa songs in which one voice, usually soprano, has a leading melodic line while the other three voices function as chordal accompaniment are introduced. Four-part movement is made of all kinds and shapes of chords. Prior to commencing a four-part singing, a whole example should be analyzed. When playing it is necessary to constantly insist on clear intonation, to carefully prepare singing of leaps, to precisely play different rhythmic figures, accents and to make students get used to following harmonic and dynamic plan as well as shape and agogics. It is very important to pay attention to preparation of joint beginning of singing as well as to all elements important for quality interpretation.

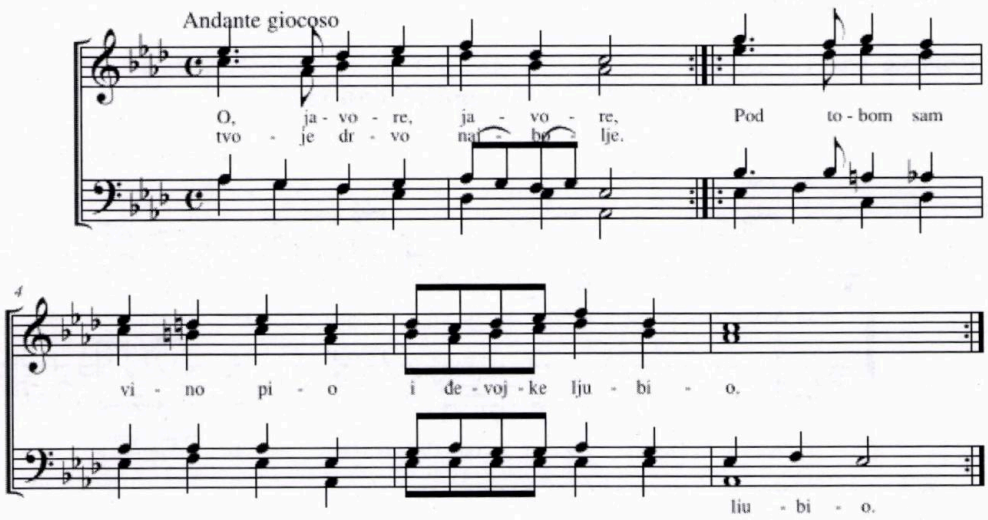
Gradually, klapa songs of richer harmonic set are introduced in teaching whereby altered tones, chromatic movements, diatonic and chromatic chords are used (Example 12). At a later stage, mutation and modulation are introduced.

Example No. 12[30]

Oj, javore, javore

Perast

arrangement: Jure Šaban - Stanić



[30] *Lirica* 1/2013: 71.

During the work on four-part examples the established methodical procedures are used. According to Matorkić Ivanović it is necessary to carefully read with students an entire text in solmization and then to simultaneously do rhythmic reading of all four sections.[31] The next step is turning music notation into sound. Singing combinations can be different. The student can sing one voice himself while the rest can be played by a teacher or another student. The other possibility is to have a group singing two or three voices and a student or a teacher playing other voices. With polyphonic examples a group sings the themes while a professor plays counterpoint and vice versa. When it comes to four-part singing, it is necessary to always encourage, activate and link all three components of music: rhythmic, melodic–affective and harmonic–intellectual. Matorkić Ivanović explains that linking these elements while working on four-part singing can enable young musicians to understand the piece more quickly and complete and facilitate their professional advancement evoking thereby their creative instinct that is so precious for all kinds of human activities.

All these types of practice represent a starting point for work on examples from music literature, which can belong to different areas of vocal, instrumental and vocal-instrumental music. The students need to be prepared for real music practice the performance of which requires their awareness of several different melodic lines and their role in creation of music flow. As pointed out by Matorkić Ivanović[32] the necessary elements in four-part singing are ear control and self-control as well as the skill of adapting and fitting in terms of intonation and tone balance but also regarding rhythm, metro rhythmic compliance, simultaneous horizontal and vertical music notation tracking, so that a joint performance can be realized and breathing in singing controlled.

Four-part singing at solfeggio class should not be confused with singing a choir or klapa composition in public, at concert performance. In solfeggio lessons a teacher should insist on singing all four voices at the same time while simultaneously listening to and understanding horizontal and vertical component, whereby klapa song is considered a convenient didactic material. If student is to truly recognize and understand some musical structure, he should learn how to listen to, know how to identify and ultimately understand all musical and harmonic phenomena. It means that these phenomena should be revealed by ear in real music situations, i.e. live music where they are rarely as pure and ideal as in didactic examples. Didactic model is still only a simplified musical abstract and its value can only be, as it has always been, purely pedagogical, instructive".[33]

CONCLUSION

Based on the observations expressed above, it is clear that klapa song can find its place in the contemporary solfeggio teaching in Montenegro. The work on

[31] Matorkić Ivanović 2009.
[32] Matorkić Ivanović 2009.
[33] Hinek 2006: 52.

klapa singing can be one of the possible ways of developing harmonic ear and students' active contact with "live" music at solfeggio classes. Certainly, such approach requires a long-term, gradual and thorough preparation by teachers if they are to enable their students to perceive traditional musical form during its development, various influences and different types of shaping. Klapa song is certainly closer and more interesting to students than specially written didactic examples which are often tailored only to fit the needs of solfeggio teaching, and are actually only the imitation of real music. We hope that in the near future in Montenegro the textbooks for solfeggio subject will be designed where klapa song will find its well-deserved place.

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DO WE NEED A CONCEPT OF "MUSICAL SUBSTANCE"?

IZALY ZEMTSOVSKY

ABSTRACT[1]

The article is aimed at introduction of a new concept that should be topical for both musicology and ethnomusicology – the concept of "musical substance." Author suggests making a distinction between timbre and substance. Many different timbres could exist together in the element of a single musical substance. Music requires considering and understanding of the existential mode of musical substance. Musicians constantly dwell in substance, exist in it. Musical substance possesses a certain kind of syncretic power, which is realized in performance. Oral tradition knows only melody that is fused with substance and emerges from substance in a mode of syncretic articulation. Musical substance and ethnohearing are like communicating vessels in which a given substance constitutes the materialization of a given ethnic hearing. A change in substance leads to re-intoning. Hence the law of coexistence of musical substances in ethnic tradition. Dropping substance from the chain of "music-making – intoning – musical substance – articulating" leads to irreversible losses in the life of an oral tradition.

Keywords: musicology, ethnomusicology, musical substance, ethnohearing, auditory existence, existential mode, syncretic articulation, ethnic sound-ideal, voice, timbre, oral tradition, musical civilization.

"Music is born of *voice* and not of sound"
(Jean-Jacques Rousseau)[2]

These words from Jean-Jacques Rousseau caught my attention only in the final stages of my work on this article, which has extended over many long years. But it is precisely these words, I would like to believe, that might prove pivotal in understanding the question that has captivated me: what kind of "substance" is music as an art form possessed of? I have not been satisfied by the usual answers

[1] Apart from the abstract in the beginning, and the reformatting of the notes and bibliography, the text is originally published in Russian as *Apologiia 'muzykal'nogo veshchestva* [Apology of 'Musical Substance'] in *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* [Musical Academy] 2005, No. 2: 181-192. The present translation was made from the original manuscript by Scott Bartling and D. Brian Kim.

[2] Cited in Derrida 1976: 195.

concerning "sound" and "intonation," either as a musician or as an analyst of various types of music from around the world. As a logical consequence of my ever-deepening interest in the world of orality, I began to devote more and more attention to the topic of *voice* in culture. Foreign scholars have also devoted attention to this specific issue in publications spanning the course of approximately the last thirty-five years: one can simply point to the books of Paul Zumthor (1915-1995), already classics, which themselves grew out of the scholarly tradition initiated ninety years ago by Marcel Jousse (1886-1961).[3] Zumthor convincingly underlined the role of voice as an all-important source of energy in the artistic act and, correspondingly, the place of voice as a mediator between the anthropological and culturological aspects of research on artistic tradition. In the most recent literature, we find more frequent mention of mythological beliefs that present the voice as a deity, or even as a young woman, etc[4]. At present, there is a multitude of publications in various languages that treat the problem of voice and *voicedness* in culture, an overview of which is beyond the scope of this article[5] – all the more so since my own understanding of "voice" is much broader than the concept of "vocality" as such.

I have written a mountain of drafts, working out one approach to the problem after another, but in the end, I have opted for brevity – at least in comparison with what I originally intended. The composition of this article is unusual: I have inserted the introduction to the piece in the middle of it, and I have chosen to start off my exploration of the topic of musical substance with a reminiscence of my first encounter with peasant folklore. At the time of this first encounter, I was a student at two institutions of higher learning in Leningrad – the university (as a philologist) and the conservatory (as a musicologist and composer) – and I, a child of the asphalt of St. Petersburg, who had never lived in the country before – experienced, with no exaggeration, a cultural and psychological shock. For me, the shock of this first encounter gave rise to aesthetic delight; this delight led to an intellectual rapture that quickly developed into a love for folk culture and its practitioners; and this love turned, like magic, into the research activity that has turned out to be my life's calling.

If "in the beginning was the Word," then it follows that in the beginning were also *Voice and Hearing*, constituting the very foundation of musical culture. I am convinced, moreover, that in the beginning, there was also *Something Else*, and the pages that follow are dedicated to the substantiation of this claim.

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[3] Jousse 1925; Jousse 1990; Zumthor 1990; Zumthor 1992. It is not out of the question that Merab K. Mamardashvili, following the French academic tradition, may have spoken about the voice as a distinct material in his well-known lectures on Marcel Proust.

[4] Rothenberg 1983: 95 (in the Indian tradition). According to one Islamic tradition, "The human voice was given at the same time as the highest part of the soul, called the 'speaking soul' (*nāṭiqa*), which only humans have" (see During 2002:182).

[5] See, for example, a few books in English: Ong 1982; Tannen 1982; Havelock 1986; Sweeney 1987; Goody1987; Finnegan 1988; Thomas 1989; Olson and Torrance 1991; Carter 1992; Brown 1998; Weidman 2001; Tarasti 2002 (see Part 3). See also in Russian: Ivanov 2003.

1. FROM SENSATION TO CONCEPTUALIZATION

"...meaning never belongs to the past.
It can be checked in each man's own present experience"
(Peter Brook)[6]

The sensation of *musical substance* came to me much earlier than the ability to conceptualize it. I can even date this initial sensation – it happened at the beginning of July 1956, during my first folkloric (and simultaneously dialectological, according to my university plans) expedition to Vologda Oblast. The expedition took me to the village of Chernevo in the Ust'-Alekseevsky District, where I lived with the Melekhins, a large, friendly family[7]. Stepan Ivanovich Melekhin, who led the local clubhouse, invited me to go for a walk in a field where women, gathering as a group at the end of the workday, were singing to their hearts' content, without any kind of musical accompaniment whatsoever. They sang a cappella, except for the chirping of the birds that flew above them.

In order to understand why the living, expansive flow of sound of this collective in the open air made such an impression on me that day, why it – without exaggeration – so astounded me, it is necessary to remember that I arrived at this village with an exclusively city person's acquaintance with the Russian folk song. In other words, what I was primarily acquainted with was reworkings of this music for voice and piano or for academic choir, or even renditions for solo piano: that is, the strictly tempered and, as a rule, fully harmonic reworkings of the Mighty Handful and their disciples. The first lessons I ever had in Russian folklore, which were remarkable in their own way, took place in 1951 at the Musical College of what was then Leningrad Conservatory, in a course with Lidiya Mikhailovna Kershner (1905-1968), also to the accompaniment of the piano. But here in Chernevo there was folklore that was not meant for study or reworking – singing that was not for someone else, but for oneself. I remember very well the first sensation this elemental current of choral singing evoked in me – what sound, what structure, what dynamics! It was not just that these women were singing without any attempt to match the rhythm of the piano; in fact, they had never even seen or heard a piano! The song was taking form right here, in the pure country air, as if by itself, out of nothing… As a collective, these women existed in a particular context, in an atmosphere, even in an *element* of a distinct kind of *musical substance*. What I was witnessing, it occurred to me, was something akin to an ecological phenomenon.

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[6] Brook 1968: 11.

[7] I have written about this trip and my first impressions of it in the local press (e.g., Zemtsovsky 1956), as well as, later, in the national press (Zemtsovsky 1958 – incidentally, my first article in this journal). When Aleksandr T. Tvardovsky was the editor-in-chief of *Novyi mir* [New World], he commissioned a more general article on my impressions of the expedition, but this was never published, as Tvardovsky was discharged from his position.

I was stunned and enchanted by this flow of sound, but the women themselves were also passionately, artistically engaged in their performance, and they *dwelt* in its extraordinary energy with great apparent pleasure. There was a potent energetic field that emanated from their singing collective. It was as if they were "swimming" in this *element* of sound, something that was new for me but that for them was absolutely familiar, something they had grown up with. I noted as well that literally everything that resounded right now, in this moment, was being created by these women themselves, here and now. Moreover, this flow of sound united them, in spite of the differences between their individual timbres.

Thinking of how I was going to notate their singing, I realized that I was running up against an evidently polytimbral polyphony that made use of a unified "musical substance." From this substance was created an organism that was alive in its own way, resounding as if it were doing so all on its own, independent of the singing women. With professional despair, I understood that there could be no talk of *notating* this flow of sound, or of what seemed to me then to be its elemental dynamics. There could be no notation of these sounds, which were determined by the individual timbres of the voices, by pitch, rhythm, and textural function – and certainly not of the whole of its resounding "substance," precisely the thing that struck me most of all.

I did not know then how to formulate this sensation, which was so new to me: the sensation that this flow of sound was *predetermined* for the singers. On the one hand, they were creating it in the here and now, but on the other, they themselves were the creation of this substance. (In a similar way, the poet reciting his poems belongs to *the poems* no less than the poems belong to *him*.) And, in addition, there was the strange sensation that timbre – that miracle of individualization – turned out not to be "substance" at all: many different timbres could exist together in the element of a single musical substance, which was bigger than they were.

Of course, at the time, I did not fully realize the depth of what was happening, but the freedom of these women singing together was stunning. I could not help but pay attention to the fact that not only was their behavior in a music-making collective different from the standards of the academic choirs I had known up to that point, but the *behavior of the sound*, so to speak, in the choral texture these women were creating was different, too. The women of Chernevo did not *avoid* formal tempering; they simply did not know of its existence. They did not think about temperament or intervals, and overall, they did not think about notes, or about the rules familiar to me. Tentatively speaking, they seemed to exist in different kinds of *"performing" complexes* and think in different kinds of *musical-declamatory categories* – complexes and categories that I was yet to perceive, analyze, and perhaps someday even explain.

Listening to these women back in 1956, I felt as if I had plunged into a world that existed (or coexisted) parallel to this one, a world that had been unknown to me before. This parallel world was, in principle, independent of the musically

tempered reality in which I had lived and worked up until that point. I fell into a world of different measurements and values, of a different "element" and – as I would say now – a different "substance." Then, for some reason, I also remembered a completely different day, also a hot one in summertime, during my adolescence. It was the day my mother taught me how to swim.

It was at the Oredezh River outside St. Petersburg. My mother simply threw me into deep water from the bank, let me flounder, and then took me out and resolutely threw me in again until I myself could *grasp*, finally, the unforgettable, incomparable sensation of my own lightness in the water, my unexpected weightlessness and buoyancy. I was like a bird in the air, like a fish in water: each of these creatures, in the *element* of its substance, feels free of this substance, feels itself the *master of* its substance. For me, this was the discovery of a new dimension of being: of being in water, alone with the element of water, and – even if only for a moment – conquering it.

That day, possibilities in my body about which I had never even guessed were revealed to me, and I discovered a new kind of happiness.

My mother was right – only a shock could have bestowed on me this hitherto unknown state of being, this *physical existence* in a particular *substance*.

And that first encounter with Russian peasant singing, with the open-air, village choral sound of those seventeen women from Chernevo, turned out to be the same kind of shock therapy – only for my *auditory existence*.

From that point on, and forever after, these two musical worlds have coexisted magically within me, just as I have held on, ever since, to that first sensation of my ability to hold myself up in the water and not drown. More and more, they have opened the possibilities of my musical hearing, possibilities that at the very beginning of my scholarly path I had never even suspected might exist.

Like a waterfowl, living equally in the water and in the air, I have existed, from that point on, equally in the magically tempered world of my great Western European predecessors and in the mysteriously untempered world of folk art, which materializes over and over again before your eyes, each time as if anew. But at the time, almost half a century ago, when I first found myself in a world defined by an exclusively oral tradition, a world of *free substance* in stark contrast to a world of predetermined flows of sound – those of the piano, the symphony orchestra, and the orchestra of folk instruments created in the latter's likeness – nothing remained for me but to recognize that the range of "musical substances" was evidently not limited to what, up to then, had been my auditory experience, my auditory world.

Later, I began more frequently to notice that there are different types of *musical substances*. For example, there are such sharply dissimilar phenomena as Italian bel canto, which is generously saturated with "vocal-weightedness" [*vokalvesomost'*] (to borrow Asaf'ev's term); Mongolian *urtiin duu*, or long songs, with their gripping melodic range; Karelian-Finnish runic songs, which are almost

spoken (compared to bel canto and *urtiin duu*) and literally spellbind; and the completely different type of "speaking melos" of the native peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East, with their unbelievably delicate articulating; while on the other hand, there is the deep "substance" of Uzbek monody and Turkmen songs, both of which are characterized by unconventionally expressive "pinched" sounds. It became clear to me that the representatives of, e.g., Viennese classicism or Italian bel canto could not, on a fundamental level, *exist* in these other *musical substances*, upon which the oral traditions of the various peoples of Eurasia have based their art.

I have often returned to those first impressions inspired by the singing of the Vologda peasants from Chernevo: like a first love, they have not been forgotten. (Moreover, if it had not been for those people from Chernevo, whose voices to this day retain such a vivid hold on my memory, I may not have become a folklorist at all!) I had no doubt that both the Vologda songs I heard then and the songs of my beloved Schubert constituted music in equal measure; but from an aural perspective, they were clearly *made* out of different *substances*.

It was difficult for me to explain this difference conceptually. In the beginning, I thought that these substances simply differed in the same way that, for example, fabrics woven from silk or wool differed. The main thing that bothered me was the total impossibility of conveying in transcription the difference between these musical "fabrics" that had made such an impression on me. (Later, in Tashkent, I was quite shocked when I saw the European notation of Uzbek *maqoms*: notated this way, they reminded me of the piano sonatas of someone like Muzio Clementi (1752-1832). What was this – the simple replacement of an Uzbek *chapan* with an Austrian court frock, or something deeper than the outward "clothing" of a given time and place?) Gradually, I came to the conclusion that these substances are not *fabrics* at all; they are not *clothing* of musical manufacture, but are rather the very essence of music-making. Furthermore, this essence dwells in both the performer and in that which is being performed – and certainly in the listeners, as well. And this essence, of course, does not lend itself to notation.

In any case, it is time to shift our focus from the practical problems of notation to something a little closer to the *sonic* phenomenon of real folk singing – to that which the genius Vladimir Odoevsky aphoristically formulated in 1866: "...we must...make record of the folk song as it sounds in *the voice* and *the hearing* of the people."[8]

Translating this aphorism into the language of my current conception of music in the oral tradition, I would say this: *in the voice* means in *musical substance*; *in the hearing* means in **ethnohearing**.[9] These two phenomena – substance and hearing – are, moreover, inextricably linked.

Ethnohearing is the organ that perceives a particular type of sonic material; it is the organ that *absorbs* the particular material I call "musical substance." I am not

[8] Odoevskii 1956: 306.
[9] Zemtsovsky 2001.

referring to commonplace sound flow in general, but to that component of sound flow that occurs when a specific bearer of ethnohearing turns hearing (metaphorically speaking) into musically characteristic *sustenance*. Musical substance and ethnohearing are like communicating vessels in which a given substance constitutes the materialization of a given ethnic hearing.

Odoevsky, if I am reading him right, was profoundly correct. And could we not also discern his sentiment in the expression "voice of the song," widely known among Russian peasants? This expression perfectly captures the indissoluble coincidence of a "melody" and the "substance" out of which it is "made." The phrase "voice of the song" reflects, in its own way, the *syncretism of the living substance of music* – a primordial syncretism, I would say. In this term, Russian peasants have captured something incredibly deep: the fact that the *soul* of the song (its melody, or, better, its *melos*) and the *body* of the song (its "substance") *coincide*, form a *single living entity* – the song as a growing organism. This organism seems to exist as if it were independent of its performer, since in its own way, it is the performer's ideal, the goal of the performer's art; but at the same time, of course, it exists in a real flow of sound. In other words, without a performer, the organism does not physically exist.

At the time, I did not know that many years later, I would arrive at a notion of the *melosphere*, in which all ideal forms of music-making exist independently of concrete acts of performing [*ispolnitel'skie akty*] but creatively actualize themselves in those very acts of musical being.[10]

… I worked with the Chernevo chorus for a month. I had no tape recorder. My ears burned from the strain, my eyes from delight. Stepan Ivanovich Melekhin demonstrated his playing on the accordion for me. Young women sang other songs with him – generally, joking songs or soldiers' songs, as well as *chastushki* and city romances, often in an original manner particular to that village. This repertoire, performed to the accompaniment of the accordion, turned out to be much easier to transcribe than the old-style a cappella long-drawn-out songs. The texture was also simpler, so much so that the very structure of the singing changed; it was as if the women, turning from one repertoire to the next, were living simultaneously in different musical worlds, professing different musical ideals. I began to understand that it would be a grave error to limit myself to the sharp opposition, all too common, of city versus country: both worlds, coexisting as if they were parallel and independent, were in fact deeply interconnected. At any rate, each of the performers knew the contours of his or her own musical self-realization – contours of intonation and articulation, structure and texture – and each of them also knew of something I later began to call *performing behavior* [ispolnitel'skoe povedenie],[11] as well as of what I today call *musical substance*. As I conceive it now, substance

[10] Zemtsovsky 1992; Zemtsovsky 1997.
[11] Zemtsovsky 1984.

is linked not only with articulation and ethnohearing, but also with the so-called *ethnic sound-ideal*.

In the triad of "music-making – intoning – articulating,"[12] which I have discussed at length elsewhere, there is also a place for musical substance, which to a certain extent determines the fate of articulation: with the loss or the alteration of substance, the style that corresponds to that substance dies or transforms. Dropping substance from the chain of "music-making – intoning – musical substance – articulating" leads to irreversible losses in the life of an oral tradition.

...Reminiscences of my fieldwork retain their hold on me. In fact, there are two more sensations, in particular, from my first folkloric expedition in 1956 that have been burned into my consciousness; I consider it unavoidable to return to them here.

The first sensation is linked to the realization that sonic substance resides in the music-making of peasant singers no less than does the untempered structure specific to them, with its harsh pitch system, its dense heterophonic texture, its different rhythmic nature, its exceptional dynamics, and the richness of its timbral palette. The song, to my hearing, progressed in an unusual way: it did not march, whirl in a waltz, or gallop. In fact, it did not move at all; instead, it hung, as if in the air... Considering this, I realized the implication: before, I simply had not discerned the sonic substance of the classical music I had grown up with and loved. That did not mean that *my* music was without any kind of sonic substance; it simply meant that I was naturally *dwelling* in it, just as the singing women of Chernevo naturally dwelt in theirs. Each of us accepted his or her own substance as something understandable in and of itself, something that did not require any kind of verbalization. Therefore, working with the ostensibly ready-made substance of his or her genre and style, the musician turns into the Creator, for whom the original substance is neither hindrance or barrier. He or she speaks *by means of it*, not *about it*. Truly, all of us listening to music of a given style – and especially to music of an oral tradition – are always involved, even if unconsciously, with specific *musical substances*.

When we know a given style of music-making, we *read* it according to the substance of articulating it has employed. Above all, we welcome or reject the particular *substance of sound flow* depending on whether it is familiar or foreign to us, whether it speaks to us or irritates us. If the substance is something we are acquainted with, we recognize it almost instantaneously, as if it were the voice of a friend heard over the telephone after several years of separation. The American ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood (1918-2005) has called this effect "the two-second wonders": it is a moment of recognition that lasts no longer than two seconds.[13]

I am reminded, in this connection, of an eloquent story told by Yi-Fu Tuan, a leading American geographer of Chinese heritage at the University of Wisconsin;

[12] Zemtsovsky 1987; Zemtsovsky 1989.
[13] Hood 1989.

he told me this story several years ago over a friendly lunch in Madison, in response to my explanation of the concept of musical substance. When he was teaching a class on Chinese civilization at a university in the American South, Professor Tuan ran up against his students' total displeasure only in response to the sounds of Chinese opera. By that time, these students had already grown to know and love Chinese painting, they had studied Chinese literature and philosophy, and they were, of course, broadly familiar with Chinese cuisine, which is very popular in the United States. Yet straightaway, they experienced full shock at the music. Evidently, there was a Great Wall, absolutely impenetrable, between the musical substance of Chinese opera and the sonic stereotype of the American South (and, correspondingly, the ethnohearing specific to that sonic stereotype). Almost everything in that foreign culture turned out to be easily surmountable for these students; only its musical substance was not. It seems that we are able to process a substance with which we are *familiar*, while we often reject, "right off the bat," a substance with which we are *unfamiliar*. Of course, no art can be reduced to the material substance by which it operates, but we must allow that art simply cannot exist for us without considering and understanding musical substance.

The second sensation I experienced that summer in Vologda turned out to be connected with my musicological imagination. Listening to the women singing in Chernevo, I felt – and suddenly saw in my head – how this particular flow of sound, so unfamiliar to me, was *hanging* in that air, on that field, but…it was being produced not by *these* women, but by *others*, women I did not know and will never know, because they lived in other, earlier centuries… I was gripped by the sensation that the *musical substance* that had astounded me has existed on this earth from time immemorial – my Chernevo villagers did not create it. It belonged to them, like their native air, like the scent of their newly baked country bread, like the taste of their fresh milk or their just-gathered forest berries and mushrooms. This was their *mode of existence in sound*, as we would call it now.

I did not have such words back then. At that unforgettable moment, I only realized – or, more precisely, sensed, rather than understood – that music as an art form is not limited to rhythm and length, pitch and texture, timbre and dynamics, tempo and articulation. There is something else that creates music, and this something else is just as integral to it as length, pitch, volume, and timbre. Moreover, this something else is inexorably predetermined – in the final instance, we *do not create* music; we *dwell* in it (in accordance with the Latin phrase *sono ergo sum*: I sound, therefore I am), and this *dwelling*, this *being in* facilitates the birth of form. Indeed, "the substance endures, and form is lost [*la matière demeure, et la forme se perd*]," as the great French poet Pierre de Ronsard said in one of his elegies from the 16th century.[14]

[14] Ronsard 1908: 349.

It is only now that I have begun to repeat to myself, as if bewitched, these evergreen lines by Osip Mandelstam, accentuating literally each and every word for myself:

And once again a skald will set down
Another's words and pronounce them as his own.
(И снова скальд чужую песню сложит / и, как свою, ее произнесет.)[15]

Mentally highlighting the word "pronounce," I hear in it now not only articulation, which is inseparable from song, but also its *musical substance*, in which we all, in one way or another, dwell, and in so doing locate ourselves. In a sense, we, as musicians, are born *before* substance; we exist in it, as yet unable to produce it (or, more accurately, *re*produce it). Our musical hearing (i.e., our ethnohearing) *lives* in this substance, just as our eye *lives* in a familiar suite of colors and shapes, and our sense of smell *lives* in the traditional aromas of our national cuisine and native flora. It is evident that folk singers and instrumentalists also, in reality, create that which *exists before them* (to use Mandelstam's enduringly splendid image), including the musical substance that also exists before them.

It is precisely this second sensation from years long past that brought me to the crux of the conception offered here – that is, to an understanding of the *existential mode of musical substance*. This mode is characterized by something remarkable: the fundamental property that it can be unperceived, in the same way that a healthy person does not notice the beating of his or her heart or the scent of his or her body. In this vein, musical substance renders separate the properties of any cultural form inherited by tradition. As Merab Mamardashvili has written, "...cultural form is the ability of a person to work and function, and to think in a situation of incomplete knowledge. Or simply in the absence of knowledge."[16]

As for the music of oral tradition, its musical substance appears not only as a *cultural* form, but also as an *anthropological* form. Both forms are taken, so to speak, in their musical coincidence. In this case, a musical substance can be perceived, in and of itself, as an a priori given – i.e., it may not be perceived *rationally* at all, much less comprehended terminologically or conceptually.

"You can't compose that kind of thing," a young interlocutor of mine once wisely observed after listening to a folk melody during a discussion we were having on the topic of "how to understand music" – a popular topic at the time. And it is true: folklore is not *composed*; people *live* in it. That is why, I would say, *substance* also functions within the realm of folklore as such a potent *leaven of civilization* and *existential force*.

[15] Mandel'shtam 1991: 41.
[16] Mamardashvili 1996: 353.

2. A BELATED INTRODUCTION

"... science advances only in disproofs. There is no point in making hypotheses that are not falsifiable because such hypotheses do not say anything. ... A theory is not a theory unless it can be disproved"
(John Rader Platt)[17]

In comparison with my previous two apologias on ethnohearing and text,[18] the following apologia may seem even more problematic. It concerns that quality of musical art which is least verbalized – though peasants in places like Chernevo, like other practitioners of oral tradition, do always take into account, for example, the difference between *thick* and *thin* voices (such a difference plainly goes beyond the bounds of a musical text's traditional timbral divisions and, I am convinced, also indicates the coexistence of various "musical substances" in the makeup of, e.g., polyphonic texture).[19] In any case, let us elaborate on the subject of collective intoning. When it utilizes various substances, what is most tangible in collective intoning is the emergence of *contrastive polyphony*, while under the conditions of a single or uniform musical substance, what is most tangible is the emergence of *harmony*. It is also evident that the type of musical substance is just as closely connected to the quality of articulating as it is to the type of performance communication (for example, in the marking of a soloist's part, which makes use of a particular musical substance distinct from the substance of a choral drone, or in collective co-intoning within the bounds of a single substance, as in the texture of diaphony). All of these hypotheses call for detailed substantiation. However, such substantiation is beyond the scope of the present article, which is a preliminary invitation to discussion in, if you will, a contrastive-polyphonic style.

I consider it unavoidable here to make three short digressions, which, I hope, may give the reader a deeper sense of the meaning of the phenomenon of "musical substance." These digressions are connected to three names that have long been important and dear to me: Boris Asaf'ev (1884-1949), Vladimir Vernadsky (1863-1945), and Marc Chagall (1887-1985). (The fact that I list them in alphabetical order [in Russian] is not coincidental: these names came to me in precisely that order in

[17] Platt 1964.

[18] Cf. Zemtsovsky 2002 № 1 and № 4.

[19] Evgeny Efremov has recently analyzed a particular usage of the term "thin voice" (Efremov 2003: 127-129). *Thin voice* is not melody, but *voice*, strictly speaking. It comes about when the singer draws only on head voice and not chest voice. Because of this, the top part of the singer's range broadens significantly, and her timbre becomes reminiscent of that of an academically trained soprano. This voice is used in ritual *gukan'e*, a characteristic form of shouting in which the syllable "gu-u-u" is protracted at the end of a call in certain calendrical genres (designated only for certain times—for example, this cannot be sung in winter). This voice is not one used in everyday settings: it is neither a singing nor a conversational voice, thereby demonstrating its special status in traditional performances by ethnophores.

the process of working on this article – a process that has extended over seven and a half long years).

I must confess that during the course of this article's composition, I completely forgot, perhaps for the first time in my career as a musicologist, about Asaf'ev, who raised the question of what he called *sonic substance* back in the 1920s.[20] I recalled the article in which Asaf'ev raised this question only after my own idea had already crystallized and the greater part of my article was ready in draft form. My forgetfulness can likely be explained by the fact that what Asaf'ev meant by this term was essentially different from my own notion, which developed independently along its own course. Nevertheless, not only in that article, which is little known and has never been reprinted, but also in the first book of his famous monograph *Musical Form as a Process* [*Muzykal'naia forma kak protsess*], Asaf'ev carefully put forth this proposition: "...the manifestation of music takes place through a process involving the forming of sonic material (it seems to me that we can also take as given a notion of sonic substance)."[21] In those years, Asaf'ev was writing about the continuous flow of substance, refining his understanding of the working term ("sonic substance" as a "complex of sound interrelationships").[22] In his *Symphonic Etudes*, he even equated, in passing, "substance," "body," and "musical fabric."[23] However, in all of these formulations, Asaf'ev remained at an understanding of substance as something reflected by means of musical *notation*. My own understanding of the "materiality" of *musical* substance (and not merely of *sonic* substance) differs radically from Asaf'ev's proposition. Nevertheless, after carefully rereading this little-known article by a master, I understood not only why I had forgotten about it, but also why it was essential to remind my current reader of it. Asaf'ev persistently strove for an *aural* understanding of music versus a *visual* one, and without his efforts, all of us Russian musicologists would be different. In this sense, Asaf'ev's experience is of great importance today for our understanding of the paths we have been attempting to explore with our hearing and – to the extent that we can – subject to analysis.

While reflecting on this article about the phenomenon of musical substance and the corresponding term, I also made reference to the work of Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky. Reading over his works on what he called *living substance*,[24] I saw that they had no direct relation to my own conception of substance – they were too biogeochemical and too broad in scope. Nonetheless, it is Vernadsky,

[20] See Glebov 1923. The archive of B. V. Asaf'ev (TsGALI, fond 2658, opis 1, No. 234) holds a 1920 manuscript entitled "Stroenie veshchestva i kristallizatsiia (formoobrazovanie) v muzyke [The Construction of Substance and Its Crystallization (Formal Composition) in Music]," which has never been published in full.

[21] Asaf'ev 1971: 26.

[22] Asaf'ev 1927: 11 ("…sound-forms present themselves to consciousness as a kind of 'sonic substance'—a complex of sound interrelationships…").

[23] Asaf'ev 1970: 113, footnote.

[24] Cf. Vernadskii 1978: 115, 311-319; Vernadskii 1994: 241.

recalling the famous principle of the eminent Florentine doctor, naturalist, poet, and musician Francesco Redi (1628-1698) – that is, *omne vivum ex vivo* ("all life comes from life") – who makes it possible for us to link musical substance with the essence of living matter, which he distinguished from inert matter. The substance of music, which exists in the dynamic of music-making as an active process, shares attributes with living matter.

In this way, although neither Asaf'ev nor Vernadsky wrote about the specific "musical substance" that I had and have in mind, their forays into neighboring intellectual space have been of great help to me. In the final analysis, they may also stimulate my readers' thinking in equal measure, and perhaps lead them to similar or alternative but no less productive conclusions.

Both thinkers, Asaf'ev and Vernadsky, fighting for the development of concrete academic disciplines in their respective fields, were at the same time philosophers. This means that their conceptions of "substance" work on two levels at once: the philosophical and, ideally, the concrete-analytical – or, at least, their conceptions could theoretically work on those two levels. Alas, in my own field, the music of oral tradition, these conceptions have simply not been put to work. At any rate, in order to explain the essence of my approach to others, I still lacked something, something essential that comes from the depths of an artist's creative process, rather than something that descends onto musical praxis from philosophical heights that encompass all that is living (Vernadsky) and musical as opposed to, for example, all that is architectural (Asaf'ev) and inert (Vernadsky).

I knew that in the final analysis I myself would come to an understanding of the *overall-musical* significance of my concept, but I had to *begin*, as always, from folklore, where all overall-musical properties are sharpened to the maximum and are presented, so to speak, in their bare essence. That "musico-folkloric substance" acted on me with an artistic aggression I had never before encountered (in my aesthetic experience), and this aggression cried out, in the end, for conceptualization. Then, for a long time, I paused my work on this article, having made a sharp turn to completely different artistic material that was neither musical nor folkloric, though it turned out to be deeply connected with both music and folklore. This material was the painting of Marc Chagall, whose work had excited my imagination for a long time, constantly beckoning me and presenting riddles to my analytical mind. I surrendered myself to Chagall's world without reservation.

The results were not long in coming. In the process of reflecting on the magic of Chagall's colors and forms, but also as a consequence of acquainting myself with a mass of critical literature in art history, I came to a link in the chain of my argument that was inevitable but had been missing up until now. I myself perceived this almost as a revelation. It was a voice *from within*, from within the creative process and the experience of it.

This moment so took hold of me that I considered it fitting to date my notes from those days.

21 February 2004. Musical substance lives, so to speak, together with energy, which gives rise to it: substance is revealed in the process of energetic communication. Clearly, this is what Chagall insistently called *love* ("the color of Love").[25] And then it became clear to me that in the music of all epochs and styles – perhaps most clearly in oral tradition – musical substance distinguishes itself by that which, at all stages of its existence (creation, execution, reception), comes along with the energy that gives rise to it and – with musical substance and in musical substance – forms a composition as an artistic thought; i.e., what Asaf'ev, for his part, called intonation. Edmond Gegamovich Avetian[26] wrote beautifully about the luminescence of substance, but I would add to and refine his thought in the following way: we should speak about the *energetic luminescence* of the musical (or any other artistic) substance of an art form. Substance is innately associated with the energy of formal creativity as a process of energetic communication.

7 March 2004. I found a brilliant confirmation of my intuition in a book of memoirs about Chagall – a book referenced extremely rarely not only in Russian-language scholarship on Chagall but also in English-language scholarship on him, despite the fact that it was published in English.[27] The author of this book is Virginia Haggard-Leirens – "Virginechka," as Chagall himself called her over the course of the seven years (1945-1952) she spent as his faithful life companion. Almost directly after the death of Chagall, Virginia published this highly interesting book of memoirs, which was based on her personal notes from those seven years. As it seems to me today, she, being an artist herself, probably understood Chagall's technique more deeply than all scholars of Chagall. Regardless, it has sometimes seemed to me that she is literally speaking in my own words – though, as is well known, we often (perhaps also mistakenly) value these "coincidences" as the deepest insights another has to offer. I will cite an illustrative paragraph from her book, which made the strongest of impressions on me:

"He had an intrinsic understanding for the life of matter, for its vibrations and transformations. He respected its autonomous behavior and never abused it. Like a Taoist craftsman, he sought the mystery that lived in his material, and worked in harmony with it. The result is that his works can stand a comparison with nature. His famous test consisted of setting a picture in the grass or against a tree, to see if it held its own. It illustrated his idea that a good painting is made of authentic, living substances and explained his pet theory of the indispensable 'chemical' quality of a painting. What he meant was that there is a mysterious element, without which a painting cannot rise above the realm of pure matter into the realm

[25] Harshav 2003: 128, 137, 151.

[26] Avetian 1979: 150. I quote this significant fragment in full: "The liberation and birth of essence is possible because of the luminescence of substance, which hints at its constitutive plan. Substance is therefore introduced in the role of a naturally occurring sign. And meaning does not impose itself upon it; substance naturally encounters meaning."

[27] Haggard 1986: 104.

of pure creation, without which it cannot become *a new living thing*. That element is like a piece of living tissue."

In the art of the master painter, Vernadsky's "living substance" is turned into a living tissue, acquiring its own being, full of authentic vibrations and transformations. The matter of art becomes the life-bearing substance of art; it becomes a *second nature*, not mirroring the first, but coexisting with it. And if this holds as far as painting is concerned, then how much more evident must it be in music, where sounds turn into tones and sound combinations turn into intonations, where *voicedness* [*golosovost'*] reigns – a quality introduced into nature solely by humans.

The "chemistry" of art turns its substances into a living tissue of formal creativity, rivaling nature itself. However, in contrast to nature, the living substance of art is charged with the energy of love.

The scope of the problem has expanded.

3. AN INVITATION TO DISCUSSION

"Human creativity is directed toward the creation of material that does not,on its own, come into being by natural means…"
(Merab Mamardashvili)[28]

Translating this philosophical position into the language of ethno/musicology (i.e., "musicology" and "ethnomusicology" in equal measure), I suggest making a distinction in music (and, more broadly, in art in general) between matter and substance. Speaking schematically, *matter* is something formless, inert, dead, while *substance* is something pregnant with forms of a predetermined type (duration, texture, articulation, dynamics, etc.) and is therefore alive. This formal potential is an essential quality of the substance preferred by a given tradition of music-making and is assigned to it, as it were, for that reason. In this lies its distinction from matter, out of which, in principle, any form could be created in any style and in any tradition. According to the definition of the sculptor and theoretician Vladimir Domogatsky (1876-1939), matter is "any kind of mass that, on a technical-artistic level, surrenders itself to formation…"[29] Between mass that "surrenders on a technical-artistic level" and "pregnant" substance, there is an immense distance.

The following formulation is possible: each kind of art has its own matter, but within the bounds of each kind of matter, there exists a multitude of substances. There is a similar relationship between substance and timbre: each kind of substance realizes itself in myriad timbres. In this sense, an entire symphonic orchestra is one substance made up of a multitude of individual instrumental timbres, and this substance can be juxtaposed to the contrasting substance of other kinds of orchestras – for example, the traditional Indonesian *gamelan* orchestra.

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[28] Mamardashvili 1995: 265.

[29] Domogatskii 1984: 108-130 (chap. 1: *Teoriia materiala. Vzaimodeistvie materiala s formoi* [Theory of Matter. The Interplay of Matter and Form]).

It is necessary, however, to admit that in all of this (and beyond), there is still so much that remains unclear and under-researched that it would be rash to expect immediate support for the hypotheses I put forth here. "Whenever people agree with me," quipped Oscar Wilde, "I always feel I must be wrong…" In the best scenario, I hope for an open discussion about the phenomenon of musical substance. Such a discussion could shed light on whether, underlying my sensations and guesses, there may be a nearly *intonational theory of musical substance*, taking as its subject music as sonic material that gives substance to intonation, not only articulationally[30] but also by means of the entire mass of sound-energy, as self-realization and communication.

Among the theses and hypotheses that could be brought into such a discussion, I would now suggest the following, as an addition to or further development of what I have said above.

First and foremost, we are presented with an obvious paradox regarding musical substance. On the one hand, substance goes almost unnoticed: it is taken as a given, as something inherently inseparable from the musical expression of given culture. On the other hand, tradition certainly endows substance with a particular meaning and a specific semiotic nature: for instance, the characteristics of a given genre or local style, or its function in a polyphonic texture. I am convinced that the semantics and semiotics of musical substance in tradition should become a topic of specialist research – at the micro level of individual culture as well as at the macro level of broader comparative inquiry. The most fascinating aspect of such research is the analysis of folk terminology and existing conceptualizations of substance – for example, in the context of more general ideas about sound and its sacralization. In such instances, the researcher would be justified in asking ethnophores about the interpretation of substance in their traditional milieux. Such an interpretation, it seems to me, may also be educed if we analyze comparative musical material and reflect on all the nuances of folk terminology. It is extremely labor-intensive work, demanding extraordinary creative energy.

Another hypothesis concerns the nature of musical intonation. Let us assume that intonation, which is *perceivable* by hearing, is not only a melodic, harmonic, or other kind of *sound locution* that recalls the "musical word," etc., but is also the *living substance* of music. In this sense, intonation gives the lie to any results of intellectual activity (including musico-intellectual) based on the study of final musical products: as Merab Mamardashvili wrote, "the production of thought is a living creature that has a body… and it does not coincide with the observable finished text…"[31]

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[30] Zemtsovsky 1991. See the English translation: Zemtsovsky 1996.

[31] Mamardashvili 1996: 163. I am inadvertently reminded of the performances of the Dogon tribe in Africa (Turner 1973; 1983). The Dogon believe that speech, like the human body, also has its own body, and this *body of speech* consists of four elements: *water* (in the form of saliva, without which speech is dry); *air*, which gives rise to sonic vibrations; *earth*, which gives speech weight; and *fire*, which imparts warmth.

If a musician *thinks intonationally*, then it follows that the musician is utilizing his or her *musical substance*. Substance and intonation are inseparable within a given style and a given tradition.

In my "Apology of the Text,"[32] I have already written about the *fusion* of text and substance: substance inheres in text to the same degree that the type of authentic articulating does. For that reason, one's native musical language constitutes not only language as such, but also linguistic behavior as *life in language* and, it goes without saying, as that musical language's specific musical substance.

Substance is not something *extrinsic* to music-making – it is a *required condition* for performance behavior.[33]

Just as genre is greater than function, so is substance greater than articulation, timbre, and acoustics. Musical substance possesses a certain kind of syncretic power, which is also realized in performance. That is, it is not imposed on music-making from without; the musician constantly dwells within it. (Speaking of which, this constant dwelling is also what hinders us from recognizing the omnipresence of musical substance.)

Musical substance does not exist independently of the musician in the way that clay exists independently of the potter or marble of the sculptor. When we adopt a concrete musical substance, we also take on its corresponding way of life (modus vivendi), which encompasses almost everything: a corresponding system of gesticulation, a manner of walking, a worldview, even a way of smiling. The musician *constantly dwells* in substance, *exists* in it as a musician making music. This distinct musical substance is always something predetermined for the musician – not in the way that clay has forever existed for the potter, but in the sense that it is the musician's own unique modus vivendi. A potter may work with clay; a musician, however, does not *work* with musical substance – he or she *dwells* in that[34] – but with rhythm, pitch, timbre, tempo, agogics, intervals, texture, etc. Nevertheless, this substance has a fundamental meaning in any musical composition, in any act of music-making. Moreover, we can hypothesize that the genesis of music is connected to the phenomenon of musical substance, which in turn leads us to recall the remarkable idea suggested by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, given as the epigraph to this article.

Regardless, if the genesis of music, according to one of these many hypotheses, is truly connected to the genesis of musical (as opposed to verbal) intonation, then it "coincides" with the emergence of a new substance of musical articulating proper. This substance has always and repeatedly been tested as a

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[32] Zemtsovsky 2002, № 4: 104.

[33] This is also what lies at the base of my work on an article for the new linguistic quarterly at St. Petersburg University: "Speech genres and the substance of articulating: an ethnomusicologist's take."

[34] Naila Iu. Al'meeva, who has analyzed Tatar folk art with great success, likes to talk about the principle of "dwelling in sound," so important for traditional performers. See, for example, this fragment (Al'meeva 1998: 198): "The prolongation of songs sung in a round looks almost like a goal in itself, since it results in *dwelling in sound* [author's emphasis]."

substance of intonation, that is, as a substance of specifically musical exertion. "To hold a tone" also signifies "to hold" (to be located in, to dwell in, "to create") a substance of articulated intonation. We can speak of a substance of musical articulating and of a substance of intonation/intoning.

But there is also less speculative evidence, it seems to me, from folklorists in the field, who speak literally of the "creation" of substance as the true beginning of specifically musical behavior. I remember well a lecture by Aleksandr Osipov, a Cheboksarian graduate student under Viktor Lapin in the folklore division of the Russian Institute of Art History, which he gave in December 1984. Osipov told us that according to Chuvash tradition, *one must begin by "producing sound,"* and only after that can one sing (as in a funeral lament). It is for that reason that among the Chuvash, in their vocal-instrumental genres of music-making, it is a fiddler or player of the bagpipe (the so-called *puzyr'*) who initiates, and only then does the chorus join in. In other words, as long as the substance of intoning that corresponds to the musical behavior (and genre) has not yet been created, the chorus will not sing. *To start with, substance is produced,* and only then does the music-making itself begin, in the context and mode of that substance.

I am almost tempted to modify the famous phrase and say: "In the beginning was Substance…"

The problem (and task) consists in distinguishing the specific character of these musical substances; their *nature*; and, of course, their purpose.

If genre, as per Mikhail Bakhtin, is the memory of culture, then substance is the base component of this memory's "mechanism." If substance itself is, so to speak, unseen, then the fact of its being is objectivized. This is accomplished not by the simple force of tradition alone, but also, more concretely, by the generic sphere of artistic work. Substance is fundamentally involved in the creation of the generic system of a tradition, and together with this tradition, it engenders its own kind of differentiation.

In my discussion of the following thesis, my aim is to get closer to uncovering the "mechanism" of the action of substance in tradition. I proceed from the fact that the living substance of culture is historically specific, just like ethnohearing. Hearing *rests on* the substance that stipulates a distinct type of musical form. Substance *bears* form. A change in substance leads to re-intoning as a law of tradition. The preservation of tradition is possible only on the condition that the tradition changes.

Zinaida Ewald (1894-1942), who remains underappreciated, showed this more deeply than anyone else.[35] If I have anything to add to what Ewald has shown, it pertains to the lengthy *coexistence* of multistage forms in tradition, the so-called initial and re-intoned forms. Their being is never uniform or parallel. Every "today" is the *coexistence* of "substances" within tradition. We may even speak of *the law of coexistence of musical substances in ethnic tradition*.

[35] Eval'd 1934.

In this connection, I will express one more, extremely speculative thought. It seems to me that we can speak of the coexistence of something like different musical *civilizations* within almost every historically developed ethnic culture. I personally believe this is the case: such, for example, are the peasant and urban civilizations within the Russian or Hungarian musical cultures. These civilizations' differences within the common national framework (so to speak) are so fundamental that aesthetic *dialogue* between them is practically ruled out: they engage each other by means of radically different channels of communication, which I would be wary of calling dialogue.

If this is the way things stand, then the phenomenon of the coexistence of diverse *musical substances* within a single tradition emerges as an indisputable and fundamental attribute of that tradition. In this sense, "substance" can be defined as a *door* into a civilization. A *change* in substance can result in, if not a change in epoch, then a change in style, or, once again, a change in civilization within a given national culture.

I differentiate between two basic types of change in substance:

1. Within a given civilization. We may compare, for example, opera with recitative and opera with spoken dialogue in place of notated recitative – an illustrative example is the fate of Bizet's *Carmen* on the stage. Let us also recall the instructive example of Victor Zuckerkandl (not to be confused with Viktor Zuckerman, a Soviet Russian musicologist!), who drew a contrast between an operatic quartet and a conversation among four interlocutors.[36] His brilliant analysis of a Verdi quartet wonderfully conveys the shock of perception experienced by a person who goes from the world of conversation, with its speech-related substance, into the world of music, with its intonationally supramundane substance – from the chatting of four people to their singing in harmony with each other. (True, Zuckerkandl did not himself write here about the phenomenon of "musical substance.")

2. Between civilizations, but within a single national culture. We may compare, for example, the poetry of Lomonosov, Trediakovsky, and Pushkin, when it is sung in peasant folklore in the form of folk songs. Even more illustrative is a comparison between examples of the way popular city romances are sung in the Pinezhsky District in northern Russia, treated by Ewald in her commentaries on the songs of the Pinega River. Variants of the well-known Russian melody "Vania was sitting on the couch" (*Sidel Vania na divane*), as recorded by Ewald and as reworked in Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's string quartet, are further examples.[37]

On the subject of Don Cossack song, Tatiana Rudichenko[38] uses the term "*throwing the voice over* [perekidyvat' golos]" to mean "employing the device of

[36] Zuckerkandl 1973: 332-33.

[37] Gippius and Eval'd. 1937: 397-98. Commentary to songs 15, 15a.

[38] Rudichenko 2004. I am grateful to Tatiana Semenovna Rudichenko for graciously acquainting me with her highly interesting work in manuscript form.

throwing the voice over into falsetto" and the term "*to play, with interception* [igrat' s perekhvatom]" to mean "to sing, throwing the voice over into falsetto." If these terms denote a change in the substance of a single song as a process of its cantatory "effectuation," then we can categorize this situation as a third type of change in substance. But this requires additional research, based on a broader selection of material.

Different musical substances not only alternate, but also, as a rule, coexist for a long period of time. I differentiate between three types of coexistence of musical substances:

1. Between various civilizations in a single national culture (e.g., peasant, urban, liturgical).

2. Within a single civilization (according, at base, to the genres of peasant folklore): we may compare the *substances* of laments, epics, ritual incantations, *chastushki*, lyric songs, etc.

3. Within a single polyphonic performance: we may compare the substance of the leader of the choir, which is often half-spoken, and the substance of the prolonged choral drone (cf. the flow of sound of Latvian drone songs, or of the Kakhetian drone in Georgia). Or let us remember the obviously different, contrasting substance of a chorus of girls versus the substance of a bridal lament.[39] In a similar vein, almost forty years ago, in my first publication about this surprising polyphony, I wrote about the collision of two musical substances (of the lament and of the song, of the soloist and of the group), which vividly demonstrates a specific moment in the drama of the wedding ritual.

There naturally arises a question about the mutual relationship between civilizations when they are understood in this unusual way.

Carlo Ginzburg,[40] drawing on Bakhtin, sums up the latter's observations in the term "circulation": between the cultures of the dominant and the "subjugated" classes in pre-industrial Europe, there were *circulatory* relationships that went in both directions, top-down and bottom-up. Therefore, Ginzburg stresses, it is not appropriate to speak of the absolute autonomy of, for example, peasant culture (or, in my terminology, peasant civilization).

Ginzburg's point, of course, is fair, and we might allude not only to Mikhail Bakhtin but also, in no lesser measure, to Aleksandr Veselovsky (1838-1906), whom Carlo Ginzburg, like the overwhelming majority of Western specialists, unfortunately did not know. But here is the curious thing: this circulation – between artistic activity, and in particular between works of art of various classes of any one national tradition – does not, according to my observations, have to do with their musical substance. The borders of *civilizations*, as I call them, are porous in almost all cases – for musical instruments, folk tunes, discrete songs and their subjects or motifs, etc. – for almost everything, except *substance*, since it is

[39] Zemtsovsky 1967, № 49.

[40] Ginzburg 1989: xii.

musical substance that is linked, above all, with ethnohearing and with the *ethnic ideal* of sound-making and music-making in general.

Only in the early modern and modern periods has peasant civilization taken on (and it continues to take on) the *dominant* musical substance of urban civilization, though it has by no means taken on its full richness. The city, in its turn, via individual enthusiasts, may attempt to reproduce a peasant musical substance, but this, too, is successful only in the rarest of cases. Substance remains a *wall* between civilizations that are otherwise broadly open to one another on other levels of mutual relation.

In this vein, what is exceptionally interesting is the role of so-called *secondary ensembles*: imitating the style (etc.) of one civilization within the framework of another civilization, they are in fortunate cases successful in many respects, including in the most difficult task, which is the reproduction of an intonational structure that is free from tempering, and of an articulation that is by nature unusual for them. This articulation is one they take on for the express purpose of imitating others; in the best cases, they try, like good actors, to relive others' lives theatrically, as though anew. But, we may ask, are they successful in *existing in the musical substance* of the civilization they are imitating, since the substance of any civilization is conditioned by myriads of highly subtle relationships that, in the final analysis, also determine the essence of that civilization? This, I believe, has not presented itself to secondary ensembles as a modus vivendi – i.e., in an existential way. No matter how strong of an appearance life makes displayed on the stage of a theater, theatricality will not – and by definition should not – turn into life.

When I speak of the *dominant* musical substance of urban civilization, what I have in mind is the real wealth of "substances" used, for example, by composers of various epochs and styles. Boleslav Yavorsky (1877-1942)[41] wrote about the change of styles, which I principally interpret at the level of change in musical substance. To my hearing, the substance of Haydn's sonatas, for example, differs sharply from the substance of Chopin's nocturnes, just as these both, in their turn, differ sharply from the substance of Bartók's *Allegro barbaro*. In other words, we can speak about the change and coexistence of substances even within the framework of piano music. This is all the more obvious under the conditions of oral tradition.

I will offer some observations I made on July 8, 2002, in the United States, on the premises of the embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Washington, D.C. The embassy invited the Kazakh participants in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival *The Silk Road: Connecting Cultures, Creating Trust* to a reception, along with the Americans who had worked with them. The embassy workers were not able to organize a traditional banquet: all the guests stood around a table that had been set with a cake, fruit, and typical American finger foods. The atmosphere was far

[41] Iavorskii 1987.

removed from that of the ritual hospitality and music-making in a yurt to which Kazakhs are accustomed. All the same, Almas Almatov, the star of the Kazakh delegation and a famous epic singer of the Kyzylorda tradition, decided to perform a blessing typical of his local repertoire in gratitude for the reception. In terms of genre and content, this blessing went beyond the traditional "goi-goi" greeting song appropriate to such an occasion; in Almas's performance, the blessing took on all the traits not of the lyric, but rather of the epic style, which in the Kyzylorda region is highly strained in manner and substance.[42]

Almatov sang wonderfully, but as he performed, I saw that I was not the only one who felt a familiar awkwardness hanging in the air. This singing, so natural in its traditional environment, was deprived here of the pure melodic freedom of steppe bel canto, and it sounded both unnatural and, to be frank, out of place. The strained manner of the voice leading, along with the *musical substance* (according to my conception) that Almas used, both turned out to be in flagrant opposition to the relaxed atmosphere of the American "party," as they call such official receptions here, which are moreover relatively short in comparison to traditional Kazakh hospitality. For the duration of his performance, it was as though Almas's musical substance enfettered those present; it did not let them breathe freely in an atmosphere that had already worked itself out into one of relaxed small talk. And at that point I thought to myself: what kind of singing would have sounded appropriate here? It would have to be something much lighter, like Neapolitan song, or something completely guileless and unstrained, for example set to a guitar…

But the epic style of Almas, marked by high pathos and a forceful form of musical recitation, was received in that context not so much as singing, even, than as speech become music and raised to the level of high-intensity intonational strain. I would go so far as to say that it was taken as speech *translated into the substance of intonational strain*, into speech that had been molten and stretched by this strained substance. And speech that has been translated into the non-speech substance of intoning brings forth its own conditions of musical behavior: it is precisely according to the criteria of this substance that speech vibrates in such a strained manner. *Vibration of substance* becomes *separation* of syllable/word/line, concluding in a prolonged wordless melody, what is called *qaiyrma* in Kazakh. However, these decidedly melodic conclusions, though they are beyond the word, still do not become music per se, because – and this is the crux of the matter! – they do not change the strained substance of the epic intoning.

As we can see, song melody cannot realize itself *in song*, given that it exists within the conditions of the *non-song substance* of intoning. Therefore, I would imagine that not only Kazakh but also, e.g., Kyrgyz free melodic singing – but certainly not the Kyrgyz epic *Manas*! – would have been more appropriate at the embassy, not only because these forms would have been understood as sonic images of the native steppe the musicians had left behind, but also because the

[42] For more on this style, see Kunanbaeva 1982.

musical substance of these forms, the substance of *melodic* singing of the cantilena type, *unites* all those present, while the substance of reciting immediately *separates* the soloist-bard from everyone and everything else: as soon as the rhapsodic substance of intoning – distinctly recognizable – is heard, the whole world turns instantly into a listener.

The variety of musical substance (even within the aforementioned epic tradition), like the variety of foods eaten within a given ethnic group, helps it to outlive tradition, to adapt elastically to the constantly changing atmospheres of performance in our ever more sharply changing world. This kind of adaptation did not take place that day.

It has become clear to me that there are musical substances that are chiefly predisposed toward solo performance, while there are substances that are better suited to accompaniment, to co-intoning. It is curious that this division pertains to monodic as well as to polyphonic cultures. Thus, the style of recitation, even though it is strongly, frontally melodized, still does not constitute a substance of co-music-making: it is listened to and paid attention to. As for the style of song – people join in with it, if not by producing actual sound, then at least by singing "to themselves" in their heads. In short, the nature of musical substance, in accordance with the next of my theses, is also closely linked with something I have called performance communication.[43]

The awkwardness brought about at the embassy by Almas Almatov's singing, which was out of place in terms of style and substance (but, I stress again, not in terms of content and genre!), ultimately stimulated these theoretical insights, as well as an involuntary experiment in, as it were, the contextualization of musical substance.

Naturally, what stands behind this experiment is something bigger: the link between musical substance and a given epoch of music-making, to say nothing, in particular, of the dependence of musical substance on *syncretism*, which is something especially characteristic of the music of oral tradition. For example, orchestral melody – not only transposed into various tonalities but also *clothed* in the timbres of various musical instruments in the same symphonic orchestra – is not syncretic. All the variety of its timbral clothing cannot change the very nature of its musical substance, which is fundamentally suited to different kinds of sound-making – but all of them symphonic.

Indeed, in the conditions of oral tradition, "melody" emerges, born as though at a confluence, as a result of the active interaction between the function of the music-making, the type of performance communication, the ethnic ideal of sound-making, musical substance, articulation, memory, etc. In other words, the articulatory crucible of musical-syncretic substance has set the parameters for the *probable* realization of a "melody," and so there always remains a place for this melody and its realization.[44] In this sense, syncretism is expressed in the fact that

[43] See also Zemtsovsky 1984 (see note 11).
[44] Zemtsovsky 1983.

the musical form itself is defined by extramusical factors and functions. Not a single component of a syncretic whole can be realized as something independent of the other components. Therefore, under the conditions of syncretism, quasi-romantic ideas about the seeming fluidity of musical substance over time do not work. Instead, we find a functionally determined articulation that is just as probable as it is rigidly formulaic – articulation as a working nexus connecting substance and the remaining fundamental components of musical behavior: pitch (in a dynamic texture), length (tempo-rhythm), and timbre.

Another point of consideration is the difference between folkloric articulation and the application of solmization to "folk melodies" divorced from their real context. Solfège turns folk melody into what we might characterize as a flattened reproduction. The living articulation of oral tradition, on the other hand, *develops* (as in the photographic technique) melody, rhythm, form, etc., carving it out, so to speak, of the block of raw material that is musical substance.

Oral tradition knows only melody that is fused with substance and emerges from substance in a mode of syncretic articulation. Therefore, to the question of what exactly is being articulated and taking form, we may now respond: it is musical substance!

In tradition, the so-called sound-ideal does not function by itself: only the interaction between articulation and musical substance gives rise to a generically determined sound-ideal, which I call the ethnic sound-ideal.

Consequently, the process of articulating reveals itself to be *text-forming*, and the artistic text itself turns out to be the confluence of several factors, above all articulation, timbre, and the sound-ideal. All of these elements, moreover, are already contained in a living *musical substance* that, since it exists within a mode of conventional articulation, also structures itself according to the norms of a tradition.

Perhaps music is indeed born of voice and not of sound?

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THE ROMANIAN TRADITION OF *THE SISINNIOS LEGEND* (THE 16TH-19TH CENTURIES): TYPOLOGY AND MANUSCRIPT VARIATION

MARIUS MAZILU, EMANUELA TIMOTIN

ABSTRACT

The Sisinnios Legend, a narrative which describes the influence of a female protean demon with multiple names who inflicts harm on pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns, has enjoyed an important diachronic and intercultural transmission. This article focuses on its Romanian tradition, and analyses more than 60 unedited codices preserved in archives in Bucharest and Cluj, dating from the late 16th century to the mid-19th century. The minute classification of the texts reveals the variability of the Romanian tradition, its multiple sources and layers. Occasionally, the narrative turns into a charm or acquires the features of the exorcisms approved by the Church, which explains the clergymen's involvement in the transmission of the protective writing, although it was listed in the *Index of Banned Books*.

Keywords: Saint Sisinnios, female demon, archangel Michael, newborns, folk religion.

The idea of a conflict between a character called **Sasm-* (*Sesen* in late ancient Greek) endowed with supernatural powers and a malefic female figure (*Lilith* in Hebrew, *Gylou* in Greek) is rooted in a bygone tradition. It can first be found in the classical antiquity of the Near East (around the 7th century B.C.). Afterwards, it was transferred from the Aramaic culture of Mesopotamia to the land of the Parthians. It spread over the Mediterranean basin and finally reached the Byzantine Empire. The beneficent character considered a saint particularly called *Sisinnios* developed along the Byzantine-Slavic cultural trajectory. Martyrs and hermits also bore the same name. Sisinnios was entrusted with the task of fighting the female demon that kidnapped children.[1]

The Romanian texts about the protean female demon – who inflicts harm on pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns – and her exceptional opponent are part of a tradition that has been the subject of philological and folklore research since the latter half of the 19th century.

[1] For a thorough discussion of the legend's tradition, see Schwartz 1997: 253-257; Badalanova Geller 2015: 185-186.

Among philologists, one must first mention B.P. Hasdeu, who edited a highly relevant codex to the history of Romanian apocrypha. Concurrently, he worked on a text which depicted the fight between Saint Sisinnios and a demon that kidnapped children.[2] Hasdeu correlated this text with other similar Romanian writings, drawing attention to the variability of certain textual motifs. He discussed the Romanian tradition in relation to the Slavic one and highlighted the widespread dissemination of such writings during his time.

Moses Gaster has written about this topic on many occasions. He has pointed out the large variety of Romanian texts, suggesting that they are genetically related to Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian or Russian texts. Also, Gaster has shown that the Romanian texts and, implicitly, their sources reveal plenty of similarities not only with Hebrew writings and practices,[3] but also with other Oriental writings and practices.[4] At the same time, he translated several Romanian texts into English.[5]

In the 20th century, Nicolae Cartojan compared the Romanian texts about the protean female demon known by different names to similar Slavic and Greek writings and emphasized their relation to traditional beliefs. He was the first to provide an inventory of texts preserved in the manuscripts of the Romanian Academy Library (8 manuscripts) or in manuscripts which had already been published in various philological and folklore studies of the time (12 texts).[6]

A large number of Romanian versions have occasionally appeared in philological or folklore reviews.[7] Ever since the late 19th century, folklore scholarship has underscored the relevance of the writings about the protean female demon to the protection practices of pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns and has published new texts, most notably charms, which illustrate this tradition.[8]

The present research focuses particularly on texts which evoke the fight between an exceptional character and the protean female demon endowed with many names. We are considering texts preserved in Romanian manuscripts, written during a period ranging from the late 16th century, the first century when literature was written in Romanian, to the mid-19th century. Thus, we bring knowledge of the Romanian tradition of these writings up to date by examining 87 texts from 65 manuscripts.

The present study aims to provide a typology of Romanian manuscript writings, to reveal their variation and to devote special attention to the names of

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[2] Hasdeu 1984 [1879]: 204-222.

[3] See Gaster 1983 [1883]: 259-264; Gaster 2003 [1881]. Dating from over a century ago, Moses Gaster's observations are endorsed by amulettes displayed at the exhibition titled *Magie. Anges et démons dans la tradition juive*, hosted by Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme between March 4 and July 19, 2015 (see also *Catalogue* 2015).

[4] See Gaster 1900.

[5] See Gaster 1887: 80-84; 1900: 129-143.

[6] These texts are either transcripts of manuscripts which are not preserved in the Romanian Academy Library or are collected from oral tradition; see Cartojan 1929: 145-155.

[7] Tiktin 1889; Mateescu 1911.

[8] See mainly Marian(1892: 26-36; Fochi 1976: 261-264; Cristescu 2003: 249-260.

their main characters, whose variability has long piqued the interest of researchers who have investigated other traditions.[9] Last but not least, we will elaborate on the interaction of these writings with other contemporary texts.

I. THE MILITARY SAINT AND THE DEMON THAT KIDNAPS CHILDREN

The Romanian versions of *The Sisinnios Legend* preserved in the manuscript collections of the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest and Cluj, as well as those already published by philologists and folklorists can be grouped into two major redactions.[10] These redactions can also be divided into six types, some of them being illustrated by various versions. Types A and B are predicated on an old short redaction whereas types C, D, E, F are based on a new and structurally more extended redaction.

The Romanian *Sisinnios Legend* rely on a Slavonic prototype, whose extended redaction had also circulated in a Greek variant since the 17th century.[11] In what follows we will analyze each redaction along with their related types and will point out their characteristic elements.[12]

The short redaction. Type A. The oldest known Romanian text of *The Sisinnios Legend* is preserved in ms. 447 (f. 57r-63r),[13] a miscellany compiled by many scribes.[14] *The Sisinnios Legend* is a Slavic-Romanian bilingual version, each fragment of the Slavonic text being followed by a Romanian translation.[15] The text was copied between 1590 and 1602[16] by an anonymous scribe from northern Hunedoara, who also copied *The Apocalypse of Paul*, *The Apocalypse of the Virgin* and a funeral sermon.[17] The plot of the text cannot be found in any other Romanian codex.

According to this version, the saint is named Sisinie. The epic plot is very simple: while Sisinie distinguishes himself as a soldier in Arabia, the children of his sister Melentia are kidnapped by the devil. Pregnant again, she retreats in a marble column on the edge of the sea. An angel reveals Sisinie that God entrusted him with the task of saving Melentia's children and of killing the devil. When the saint enters the hermitage, the devil transformed into a grain of millet sneaks in and

[9] See, for exemple, Perdrizet 1922; Schwartz 1996.

[10] We consider the redaction-type-version inclusion relation to be functional in the current analysis.

[11] See Cartojan 1929: 146, relying on the texts published in Sathas 1876: 573-578.

[12] Manuscripts 1313 and 1391, recorded in the index of the *Catalogue* drafted by G. Ştrempel under the entry *Sisoe* (Ştrempel 1978: 286, 314, 421), refer to fragments from *Lives of the Fathers* about avva Sisoie, not to *The Sisinnios Legend.*

[13] The text was edited by Hasdeu (1879: 284-291; 1984[2]: 217-222), by Chivu (1993: 272-274), and by the authors of a recent anthology of old Romanian texts (Mareş 1994: 132-134/ 2016: 141-142).

[14] The codex was first edited in 1879 (Hasdeu 1879; 1984[2]) and then in 1993 (Chivu 1993).

[15] For other similarly organized Slavic-Romanian writings, see Gheţie–Mareş 2001: 80.

[16] See Mareş 1985.

[17] See Chivu 1993: 36, 39. For a more detailed discussion of *The Apocalypse of the Virgin* in this codex, see Dima 2012: 40-52.

kidnaps Melentia's seventh child at midnight. While searching for the devil, the saint puts a curse on the willow and the bramble, which fail to help him, but he blesses the olive tree. He saves all Melentia's children and punishes the demon whereas the unholy spirit swears to stay away from the house where the story of its defeat is harboured and where the name of the saint will be uttered.

Apart from being short, this version has the following particularities: the armies against which Sisinie has fought are clearly mentioned, i.e. Syrian, Turkish and Tartar armies; the demon is banished "under the dark", not in the depths of the sea, as is the case with the other versions.

Type B is represented by a single text copied in November 1807 by a certain Pop Morariul from Moldovia[18] under the title *Arătarea lui Sfeti Sisin când i s-au arătat îngerul lui Dumnezeu de l-au întărit cu cuvântul* [The Vision of Saint Sisin when the angel of the Lord appeared unto him and strengthened him by God's word] (ms. 5492, f. 3^{r-v}).

The version includes a new episode, in which the saint goes hunting "with a whippet and two greyhounds". The motif is borrowed from the extended redaction (*infra*, **type C**).

Another specific episode of the writing relates how the angel sent by God to announce the miracle to the saint utters a curse against the demon. The curse takes the form of an enumeration of the parts of the human body on which the demon is likely to inflict harm. Such enumerations can also be found in healing charms, be they manuscripts[19] or part of oral lore.[20] The association between Saint Sisinnios and the curse based on the enumeration of the human body parts from which the demon is banished is also found, apart from the text analyzed here, in the second part of a Slavonic prayer against fever discovered in Oltenia. Written on corn husks and dated from the 14th century, this prayer is attributed to Saint Sisinnios. Here is the text of 14th century Slavonic prayer, followed by a fragment of the text of ms. 5492:

> …The prayer against fever uttered by Jesus, by the Holy Sisin and by everyone….for newborns. Lord! My Lord, banish the demon from this man, Gheorghie Bratul, the servant of God, from his head and his hair, from his hair, from the top of his head, from his cheeks, eyes, ears, nostrils, tongue, from under his tongue, from his throat, chest, heart, from all his body and from his ribs, from his limbs and from his inner and outer structure of his limbs, from his bones and his veins and his spider veins and from all his parts. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and forever![21]
>
> As you prayed to God, Saint Sisin, when you went hunting and were triumphant, so will this prayer inspire you to defeat now the power of the demon possessing this (state the name) servant of God, banishing him from this man's head, brain, tongue,

[18] We have identified the scribe's place of origin on the basis of the writing's linguistic particularities.

[19] See Timotin 2015: 191, 194.

[20] For this *topos* of the charms gathered from oral lore, see Gorovei 1931, Marian 1996[2].

[21] The text was published by Ciomu 1938: 212-213. For this writing, see also Năsturel 1987: 53-54.

> his neck veins, chest, heart, back, hips and from all his bones, from his feet, toes, hands, palms, the back of his hands, elbows, knees, from his ankles and wrists, from his forehead, his eyes, his nose, his mouth, his teeth, his jaws, his ears and from his entrails. Saint Sisin, pray to Jesus the Lord in order that He help this servant of God, whatever his or her name is... (ms. 5492, f. 3).[22]

Another detail specific to Type B refers to the saint's weapons: setting out in quest of the devil, he takes not only a spear, which is evoked in the other versions, but also a sword. He attempts to get the devil out of the sea by means of this sword, a gesture which seems to imitate the deed of Prophet Moses (*Exodus* 14, 21-29): "Upon reaching the sea, Saint Sisin flung the sword into the devil and could not hit him. He flung the sword slantwise and the sea parted, and then the waters came back. Upon seeing this, he raised his eyes towards Heaven and prayed to God" (f. 3^{v}).[23]

Notwithstanding its various particularities, ms. 5492 (type B) shares a series of motifs with ms. 447 (type A), which cannot be found in any other version of *The Sisinnios Legend*. These are the only cases in which the saint is called Sisin(ie), for he goes by the name of Sison[24] or Sisoie in the other versions; only these types fail to mention the existence of Saint Sisinnios' brothers.[25] Both types similarly describe Melentia's place of retreat: "the marble column" fastened "with iron spikes" (ms. 447) and "the marble fortress… with spikes" (ms. 5492), respectively. By contrast, the other versions constantly evoke a "lead-made hermitage. Only in these cases the saint stumbles across three trees, a willow, a bramble and an olive tree, not four, as mentioned in the variants of the extended redaction. The weapons used by the saint to defeat the demon are alike: there are "72 iron maces" (ms. 447) or an "iron rod" (ms. 5492), in contrast with a "flaming backsword" recorded by the other examined manuscripts. Only the short redaction records the appellation "the wood of God" given to the three trees Sisinnios meets by chance (ms. 447) or to the olive tree alone (ms. 5492).

These similarities show that in one of its elaboration stages *The Sisinnios Legend* of ms. 5492 must have been patterned after a type-A text, which is similar to that of ms. 447. The gradual contamination of the short redaction with other versions of the extended redaction explains the difference between the manuscripts.

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[22] Here is the Romanian text: *Precum te-ai rugat lui Dumnezeu, Sti Sisine, când ai ieşit la vânat şi ai biruit, aşa biruiaşte şi acum putearea diavolului de la robul lui Dumnezeu acesta (cutare) din capu, din crieri, din limbă, din vinele grumazilor, din chiept, din inimă, din spate, din şa<le> şi din toate oasele, din picioare, din deagite, din mâini, din palme, din do<sul> mâinilor, din coate, din genunchi, din gleznele picioarelor şi din încheieturile mâinilor, din frunte, din ochi<i>, din nas, din gură, din dinţi, din fălci, din urechi şi din toate mărun<ta>iele trupului. Sfinte Sisine, roagă-te lui Hristos Dumnezeu să ajute robu lui Dumnezeu acesta cutare.*

[23] Here is the Romanian text: *Şi deaca ajunse Sfeti Sisin la mare, deade cu sulița în diiavolul şi nu-l putu lovi, şi deade cu sabiia cruciş şi să desfăcu marea şi iar să împreună şi, deaca văzu, rădică ochii la ceri şi să rugă lui Dumnezeu.*

[24] We are referring to ms. 3820, 3518, 3479 (f. 89^{r-v}), 2226 (here the saint is named both Sison and Sisoie); in two variants of *Avestita* (*infra*, II), ms. 4104 and 5034 (f. 5^{r-v}), the saint is called respectively Sosonii and Sisonai.

[25] They are mentioned in all the other variants, except ms. 1166, which exemplifies type-C.

The extended redaction. Type C is most richly represented and includes versions preserved in sixteen manuscripts copied from the mid-18th century until the mid-19th century. Most of the manuscripts are stored in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest: ms. 274 (f. 20r-29v); ms. 473 (f. 46r-52v); ms. 1151 (f. 50r-53r); ms. 1166 (f. 10r-12r); ms. 1194 (f. 20r-23r); ms. 1584 (f. 302r-305v); ms. 1735 (f. 19r-24r); ms. 2226 (f. 34v-39v); ms. 2966 (f. 11v-14v); 3013 (f. 100v-104r); ms. 3479 (f. 89v-90r); ms. 3518 (f. IIIv-5v); ms. 3820 (f. 235r-243v); ms. 4767 (f. 19v-20v); ms. 5366 (f. 116r-121v). One of the texts is stored in the archive of the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj: ms. 9 Cluj (f. 123r-134r).

The texts have been written in different regions of Romania: in Wallachia (ms. 2226, ms. 9 BAR Cluj[26]), possibly even in Bucharest at Antim Monastery (ms. 473); in Moldavia (ms. 1194, 3013); in Braşov, in the commune of Prejmer (ms. 3820) etc.

The versions are very homogenous, but their titles are quite varied. Some of them point to the generic notion of "story" or inform the reader that they will present a history of the events in the life of the saint: *Povestea Sfântului Sison* [The Story of Saint Sison] (ms. 3820); *A Sfântului Sisoie istorii arată înainte* [The History of Saint Sisoie presented further on] (ms. 4767); *Cum au pătimit Sfântul Sisoi cu diiavolul când fura diiavolul coconii sori-sii şi ai altora şi cum i-au scos de la diiavolul pre toţi copiii vii, nevătămaţi* [How Saint Sisoi was tormented by the devil when the devil kidnapped the newborns of the saint's sister and of others and how the saint rescued all the children safe and sound children from the devil] (ms. 1584).

Most of these writings focus on the exorcist dimension of the text and are called *molitvă* (< sl. *molitva*) "exorcism", a term which at that time designated not only canonical prayers and exorcisms, but also non-canonical exorcisms or charms.[27] The term *molitvă* was seldom replaced by *rugăciune* (< lat. *rogatio*) "prayer", a word frequently used at the time in order to refer to a certain type of canonical texts, but also occasionally employed in non-canonical exorcisms.[28] The titles allude to the function of the texts, namely that of protecting the newborns against the demon that tries to kill them and indicates that the writing must be "put in the swing":[29] *Această molitvă a lui Sfântul Sisoie, pentru coconii cei mici de-i omoară diiavolul. Aceasta să o puie în leagăn, că nu să va apropiia* [This exorcism of Saint Sisoie for newborns the devil wants to kill. It should be put in the swing and will thus keep the devil away] (ms. 473); *Molitva Sfântului Sisoie. Pentru pruncii cei mici cei di-i*

[26] For this codex stored in the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj, see Comşa 1944.

[27] For the term *molitvă* used to generically designate the prayers gathered in the religious book called *Molitvelnic* [Euchologion], see, for instance, *Molităvnic (Belgrade, 1689)*, ed. 2009. For the term used to designate non-canonical exorcisms or healing charms, see Timotin 2015: 22, 38, 40, 48, 56-59, 63.

[28] See Timotin 2015: 45, 167, 175, 209.

[29] Such indications related to where the writing should be placed in order to be effective can be found not only in the title, but also at the end of the text, as shown by the following example: *O, creştine, să ştii pentru această <molitvă> a lui Sfântul Sisoi, având în casa ta, să pui în leagăn la pruncii cei mici, ca să nu <s>ă apropiie diiavolu* "Oh, Christian fellow, you should know that this <molitva> that you hath in your home must be put in the newborns' swing in order to keep the demon away" (ms. 1735, f. 23v).

omoară diiavolul. Aceasta să să puie în leagănul copilului, că nu să v<a> apropiia di copilu diiavolul acela [The Exorcism of Saint Sisoie. For the newborns killed by the devil. It shall be put in the baby's swing and the devil will be kept away] (ms. 1151); *Rugăciunea Sfântului Sisoi pentru coconii cei mici carii îi omoară diiavolu* [The Prayer of Saint Sisoi for the newborns that are killed by the demon] (ms. 1735) etc. A version from an 1803 manuscript owned by a hieromonk[30] suggests that the evil spirit attacks children when they and their mothers are asleep: *Această molitvă iaste a Sfântului Sisoie pentru pruncii cei mici, cari îi omoară diavolul în leagăn şi pre lângă mumele lor când dormia.* [This is the exorcism of Saint Sisoie for the newborns that are killed by the devil in the swing, when their mothers are asleep].

Type C represents a distinct Romanian translation, which is related to some Greek texts.[31] Identifying its source remains a problem that needs to be resolved. Unlike type A, type-C versions contain a reworking of certain episodes and new sequences.

The texts mention that Saint Sisoie fights in Arabia along with his brother or brothers.[32] A new paragraph, which evokes God's mercy for believers, precedes the angel's message for the saint: "God, the one who careth for all those who have requests they ask of him in faith, saw that the demon wanted faith so badly that he sent his angel to Saint Sisoi, and said to him…"[33] (ms. 1735, f. 19^{v}). Briefly mentioned in type B, the hunting episode relates that the Arabs' emperor went hunting together with Saint Sisoie, his brothers and a lot of soldiers and that a massive storm sent by God scattered all of them and drove the saint up to Melentia's hermitage. A new sequence records the saint's encounter with the sycamore maple, which is yet another blessed tree.

Certain manuscripts reveal specific particularities: three texts (1735, 3518, 1584) provide additional information when rendering the saint's dialogue with the willow: "Upon coming across a willow, *for not a soul was there in the wilderness, he prayed to God that anyone who asked about the devil, whoever they may be*, should speak unto him" (ms. 1735, f. 21^{r-v}). At the close of some versions belonging to type C (ms. 1735, 1584), as well as in the version of ms. 4862 (type F), the devil's vow contains explanations about the limits of the space protected by the writing: "And the devil swore to God who made Heaven and Earth that wherever Saint Sisoi's book lieth, I shall not come close to any house that is 90 miles[34] away, nor

[30] The version was published by C.N. Mateescu (1911: 194-197).

[31] See Sathas 1876: 573-578, Cartojan 1929: 149-150.

[32] The names of the brothers vary significantly in the manuscript transmission. For instance, they are called Isidor and Teodor (ms. 473; ms. 9 BAR Cluj), Minodor and Teodor (ms. 3319); Sidor and Fidor (ms. 1151), Esevor and Teodor (ms. 4767). Ms. 1735 and 1584 conjoin the names of both brothers as Isiteodor, which indicates that the scribe did not understand the source he was copying from. A similar phenomenon can be found in Romanian charms of oral tradition, which often conflate the name of the saints Cosma and Damian; see Bogrea 1971: 124-125; Timotin (2015: 164-165.

[33] Here is the Romanian text: *Dumnezeu, cela ce are grija tuturor celora ce-l roagă pre dânsul cu credinţă, văzându-o întru atâta nevoie dă diiavolu, atuncea trimise Dumnezeu pre îngerul său la Sfântul Sisoi, de-i grăi.*

[34] The majority of manuscripts speak about 7 miles. In the other type-C versions, the evil spirit makes a general promise to stay away from those protected by the saint; see ms. 1584 (f. 305^{r-v}), 3518 (f. 5), 4862 (f. 140^{v}).

shall I touch its children, its beasts and its land"[35] (ms. 1735, f. 23^{v}).

The text of ms. 1151 distinguishes itself by a short curse attributed to the saint, with which it ends (f. 53):

> "The exorcism of Saint Sisoie. Oh God, Lord Jesus Christ, may you, devil, be killed by the holy and almighty cross on which Christ, the son of the one true God, was crucified. I shall curse you, devil, with the frightening and glorified name of the Holy Trinity, the One God. May you be killed by the Holy and Christian and Apostolic Church and the three hundred sixty Holy Fathers of the Council of Nicaea,[36] [may the patient] remain [...] as pure and enlightened as the dew of the Holy Spirit, as he was on the day his mother begat him, and to live with the help of the all-holy and life-maker Trinity, to the ages of ages. Amen![37]

Types D, E and F stand for atypical concretizations in relation to type C, as they only follow a general line of its structure.

Type D is illustrated by ms. 3319 (f. 154-157^{v}) written in May 1806 by the Moldavian-born Manolachi Potlog.[38]

The text, en titled *Viiața Sfântului Sisoi care să ceteşti la copi<i>i cei mici, sau să o ții în le<a>găn, că nu să va apropiia diiavolul nici cu o răutate de dânsul* [The Life of Saint Sisoi that should be read to small children or be put in the swing in order to protect it against any harm done by the devil], has the following characteristics. The saint is named Sisoi(e). Conversant with other versions of the text that portrayed a protean female demon known under different names (*infra*, *II*), the scribe borrowed this motif and inserted it into the angel's message to the saint: "Saint Sisoie, fear God and go ahead and kill the multi-named devil Avestița, the wing of Satan. Turn the devil either into a greyhound or into a dog or a cat, or a fly, or into what not" (f. 154^{v}).[39]

Thirdly, the text contains a curse which, uttered by Saint Sisoie after catching the demon, strengthens the protection of both the house and the swing where the writing lies. The saint's curse begins with an evocation of the protective power of the cross, and enumerates various important figures of the Christian hierarchy: the Christ, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, the twelve apostles and the four evangelists,

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[35] *Iar diiavolu să jură pre Dumnezeu care au făcut ceriul şi pământul, că unde să va afla cartea lui Sfeti Sisoi, nu mă voiu apropiia de casa aceia de 90 mile de loc, nici de copi‹i›i lor, nici de dobitoacele lor, nici de moşi‹i›le lor.*

[36] This is probably a reference to the Seventh Synod of Nicaea, which was attended by 367 Holy Fathers who brought forth the problem related to the worship of icons.

[37] *Molitva Sfântului Sisoie. Doamne, Doamne, Dumnezeie Hristoase, ucigă-te sfânta şi preaputernica cruce care s-au răstignit Hristos, Fiiul lui Dumnezeu cel adevărat şi te blestem cu înfricoşatul şi preaslăvitul nume al Sfintei Troiți celei <de> o ființă, pre tine, diiavole, şi să te ucigă sfânta şi creştinească şi apostolească biserică şi trei sute şi şaizeci de Sfinți Părinți de la sfântul Săbor al Nicei<i>, să rămâie (...) curat şi luminat, cu roa Duhului Sfân<t>, ca în zioa care l-au născut maica sa şi să fiie cu ajutoriulu preasfintei şi de viiață făcătoarei Troiți, în vecii vecilor. Amin!* (f. 53).

[38] For a general description of the manuscript, see Ştrempel 1987: 82.

[39] *Sfinte Sisoie, să te duci cu frica lui Dumnezău să uci<zi> pre diiavolul Avestiții, aripa Sătanii, având numi multe şi uniori să faci ogar, altiori câini, şi mâță, muscă şi într-alti multi chipuri.*

the prophets Zechariah and Elijah, etc.[40] A similar yet concise imprecation is attributed to Archangel Michael in some of the variants of the writing called *Avestița, aripa Satanei* [Avestița, the Wing of Satan] (*infra*, *II*).

Type E is represented by a text without a title preserved in ms. 4862 (f. 138^{v}-140^{v}), which dates from the period between 1821 and 1829.[41] It was copied in 1828 by Stan, who was a bailiff at "Sfântul Gheorghe Vechi" Princely School in Bucharest. His model seems to have underlain the printed versions of *The Sisinnios Legend*, which was first published in Iași, then in Bucharest with a large print run (roughly 10,000 copies) between 1860 and 1870. B. P. Hasdeu published a text of this kind, in parallel with ms. 447 (type A).[42]

Ms. 4862 and the printed text evince a series of similarities which differentiate them from the versions belonging to type C. Thus, they leave out the ordinary beginning of the text, omitting the brave deeds of Saint Sisinnios, the child-kidnapping scene, Melentia's retreat to a lead-made hermitage and the saint's encounter with God's angel. The subsequent part in ms. 4862 is reworked in accordance with the opening lines of fairy tales: "Once upon a time there was a very faithful, wise and good-natured emperor. One day he went out hunting accompanied by Saint Sisoie and a large army"[43] (f. 138^{v}).

The scene when the evil spirit is punished represents yet another similarity shared by ms. 4862 and the text printed in 1878:

> "Unwilling to let him [= the devil] go, the saint grabbed his nape with a hook and got him out in the open, and led him by the nose, kept beating him, plagued him and told him: 'Hear, damned devil: may labour put you to so much torment in hell! Go in the wilderness where you belong'. The saint cut the demon's hairy head off and tore his chest asunder from the nape of his neck to his belly button. Then the saint threw him into the sea"[44] (ms. 4862, f. 140).

The Sisinnios Legend is followed in the manuscript by a writing of the *Avestița-Sisoie* type (f. 140^{v}-142^{v}) (*infra*, *II*). In order to connect the two texts, the scribe made use of a prayer for protection from enemies. It contains the first two verses of Psalm 67 and the praise for the cross. Both are read as *Rugăciunea sfintei cruci* [The Prayer to the holy cross]. However, it is worth noticing that the verses

[40] For the complete text of the curse, see Mazilu 2008: 83-84.

[41] For a general description of the codex, see Ştrempel 1992: 141-142.

[42] See Hasdeu 1984: 217-222. For the text's large-scale print, see Hasdeu 1984: 212-213, Gaster 1983: 264, Cartojan 1929: 146-147, 154. The history of Romanian printings containing texts derived from the apocryphal tradition is yet to be written.

[43] Here is the Romanian text: *În vremea aceia era un împărat de mare credință și foarte înțelept și blajin la minte era. Și întru una din zile s-au întâmplat de au ieșit la vânătoare dimpreună și cu Sfântul Sisoie și cu oaste multă care-i luase împăratul.*

[44] *Iar sfântul tot nu-l lăsa, ci l-au apucat de grumaji cu cârligul și l-au scos afară la loc larg și l-au apucat de nări și tot îl bătea și-l căznea și-i zicea: «Să te duci diiavole, proclete, în munca de veci și în pustiitate, unde-ți este ție dat.» Și i-au tăiat creștetul capului cu păru tot și i-au spintecat pieptul de la grumazi până la buric. Și atuncea l-au aruncat în mare.*

of the psalm are slightly altered: it is not sinners that will run away, as the psalmist said, but the demons. Besides, the demons will not run away from God, but from "those who love God", that is, from the readers of *The Sisinnios Legend*.[45]

> "God rises up and scatters his enemies. Those who hate him run away in defeat. As smoke is blown away, so he drives them off; as wax melts in front of the fire, so do the wicked perish in God's presence. They shall mark themselves as Christians with the sign of the cross, saying: 'We glory in the most honourable cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, for you have triumphed over the powers of hell and have given yourself to us, turning into a new strong weapon against Satan. You have triumphed over hell and death, and the wicked got ashamed. I am a sinner worshipping you, cross of our Lord, I praise you, I surrender myself to you, praying you for protection from the power of the enemy with thy power. For the prayers of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the holy saints and of all saints. Amen!'"[46] (f. 141^{v}-142^{r}).

Type F is illustrated by the fragmented version preserved in ms. 5035 (f. 16-17^{v}), a miscellany that is very likely to have been written in Wallachia. It contains texts writtten by many hands between the dawn of the 18th century and the mid-19th century.[47] This type interweaves – not very natural from a logical point of view – *The Sisinnios Legend* (type C) and *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* (*infra, II*). No warning announces the sudden shift from one text to another. In fact, the beginning of *Avestița* is unexpectedly abandoned in favour of *The Sisinnios Legend.*

II. THE FEMALE DEMON THAT KIDNAPS CHILDREN

The Slavonic tradition of the beneficent supernatural character who defeats the demon that attacks newborns also lies at the basis of the Romanian texts generally titled *Avestița, the Wing of Satan*. Similar to *The Sisinnios Legend*, these texts foreground a demon that endangers the life of newborns. This Romanian textual tradition has the following features: the demon is female, protean and tries to preclude the nativity of Jesus Christ. She loses her power, once her names become known.

Avestița, the Wing of Satan is a short text[48] copied in many miscellanies, which

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[45] A similar situation can be found in a Bulgarian text dating from the 17th-18th centuries (Dujčev 1967: 249).

[46] *Psalm 67. Să se scoale Dumnezeu și să se răsipească vrăşmaşii lui şi să fugă de la fața lui cei ce-l urăsc pre dânsul. Precum să stinge fumul, să se stingă, cum să topeaşte ceara de fața focului, aşa să piiară dracii de la fața celor ce iubesc pre Dumnezeu. Și să se însemneaze cu semnul crucii zicând: «Bucură-te, preacinstită cruce a Domnului nostru Isus Hristos, că prin tine s-au călcat puterea iadului și te-au dăruit pre tine tare armă noao asupra diiavolului. Prin tine s-au prădat iadul, au căzut moartea, s-au ruşinat dracii. Și acum și eu păcătosul ție mă închin, crucea Domnului, pre tine te slăvesc, ție mă cuceresc, rugându-mă să delungi de la mine toată puterea vrăşmaşului, cu puterea ta. Pentru rugăciunile Maicii Domnului și ale sfinților îngeri și ale tuturor sfinților. Amin!».*

[47] For an overall description of the codex, see Ştrempel 1992: 184-185.

[48] For this reason, B.P. Hasdeu (1984: 214) called these writings "the short redaction", in opposition to "the long redaction", as he called the texts grouped here under the name of *The Legend of Saint Sisinie*. However, Gaster (1983: 260) claims that we should speak about two legends that have influenced each other, rather than two different redactions.

date from the 18th and 19th centuries and are stored in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest: ms. 44 (f. 142v-144v); ms. 274 (f. 18v-20r); ms. 1067 (f. 32v-33v); ms. 1118 (f. 22r-24r); ms. 1143 (f. 70r-71v); ms. 1151 (f. 49v-50r); ms. 1166 (f. 13r-v); ms. 1194 (f. 19r-v); ms. 1209 (f. 126r-v); ms. 1215 (f. 167r-168r); ms. 1255 (f. 9r); ms. 1285 (f. 214r-215v); ms. 1335 (f. 8r, 9r); ms. 1414 (f. 79v-80r); ms. 1439 (f. 173r-174v); ms. 1524 (f. 70r-v); ms. 1619 (f. 3v-4r, 8r); ms. 1698 (f. 35r-v; f. 39v-40v); ms. 1739 (f. 2r-3v); ms. 2150 (f. 364v-366v); ms. 2182 (f. 4r-6r); ms. 2188 (f. 36r-37r); ms. 2183 (f. 159r-v); ms. 2226 (f. 32v-34r); ms. 2248 (f. 40r-41v); ms. 2858 (f. 48r-v); ms. 3163 (f. 113v-114r); ms. 3110 (f. 79v-80r); ms. 3195 (f. 64r-66r); ms. 3270 (f. 75r) (*incipit*); ms. 3479 (f. 25r-27v; f. 30r-33r; f. 37r-v; f 39r-43v; f. 44r-48r; f. 71r-v; f. 73r, 74r; f. 75r-76r; f. 77r-v; f. 79r-80r; f. 81r-v; f. 82r-83v; f. 84r; f. 87r-v; f. 88r-v; f. 89r-v; f. 143r-v); ms. 3944 (f. 50r-52v); ms. 3964 (f. 29r-32v); ms. 4104 (f. 117v); ms. 4400 (f. 1v-12r); ms. 4833 (f. 93r-95r); ms. 4862 (f. 140v-142r); ms. 5034 (f. 1r; 2r-v; 3r-v; 5r-v); ms. 5289 (f. 19r-20r); ms. 5457 (f. 20r-21r); ms. 5531 (f. 31r-32r). The codices often comprise writings copied by different scribes, with no information regarding the period when the texts were copied, which raises difficulties related to the accurate dating of the versions of *Avestița*.[49]

Avestița seems to have entered the Romanian cultural space after *The Sisinnios Legend* was written.[50] The earliest known version of *The Sisinnios Legend* dates from the period 1590–1602 (*supra*, type A) whereas the oldest version of *Avestița* was written at the end of a Slavonic psalm book in 1752. It was edited by C.N. Mateescu,[51] who failed to provide extensive information about the manuscript. We were unable to identify the codices in the collections we have consulted.

Two other versions dating from the mid-18th century are preserved in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (ms. 1439 and 274). Ms. 1439 contains particularly theological texts: in a part of the manuscript written around 1758, an unknown scribe copied *Avestița* and a wedding homily.[52] Lacking any indication of who its scribe was, the version of ms. 274 dates back to the same period.[53]

The version in ms. 3163 adds to the two foregoing texts. The miscellany includes a version of *Avestița* written by a monk called Serafim after 1706. A late note at the end says that *Avestița* was written by mistake.

Shorter than *The Sisinnios Legend*, *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* bears more resemblance to a prayer and contains the promise to ensure the owner's protection. It could be considered as an amulet and circulated in an impressive number of copies. The collection of the Romanian Academy Library is the living proof, for it stores 61 of its variants compared to only 21 of *The Sisinnios Legend*.

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[49] Under these circumstances we rely on the information supplied by the manuscript catalogues.

[50] An incomplete Slavonic version of *Avestița* was copied in *Codex Sturdzanus* (ms. 447, f. 123r–124r, by an unknown scribe, after the 10th of May 1619 (Chivu 1993: 28, 38, 51, 140).

[51] See Mateescu 1911: 38-39.

[52] For a general description of the manuscript, see Ștrempel 1978: 331.

[53] For the manuscript description, see Bianu 1907: 622-623, Ștrempel 1978: 78.

Both the manuscript versions of *Avestița* preserved in this collection[54] and those already published (as many as 12)[55] can be divided into two groups. The first group can be called "Avestița-Sisoie" because Saint Sisoie acts as a witness to the encounter between the archangel Michael and the female demon who wants to attack the newborn Jesus.[56] We call the second group "Avestița", since it only retains the encounter between the archangel and the demon. The versions are divided as follows: "Avestița-Sisoie" is exemplified in 40 variants, of which 32 are manuscript. The "Avestița" group is illustrated by 28 variants, of which 24 are manuscripts.[57]

The texts originate from various Romanian regions: Moldavia (Botoșani: ms. 1524; Suceava: ms. 2858; Vaslui: ms. 3479 (f. 79^{r}–80^{r}); Cernăuți (now Ukraine: ms. 3195); Sănătuca (now the Republic of Moldova: ms. 1067); Muntenia (Bucharest: ms. 1151, 4833; Prahova County, Zamfira Monastery: ms. 2188; Argeș County: ms. 5034) or Transylvania (Săcele, Brașov County: ms. 44), etc.

The writing has a quite uniform structure, though sometimes the story displays a series of characteristics we will discuss below.

The legends pertaining to the "Avestița – Sisoie" group start by mentioning that the saint climbs down the Eleon Mountain (= The Mount of Olives)[58] and depict the conflict between two supernatural characters, one beneficent, the other malefic. All of the texts focus on the encounter between the archangel Michael[59] and Avestița,[60] a female evil spirit with a terrifying expression, who is about to preclude the birth of Christ. The archangel stops her, punishes her and forces her to unravel both the trickery she performs in order to deceive pregnant women and the names she bears. Once written in a deal, these names will protect the house from

[54] Two of the sixty-one manuscript variants were published: ms. 1067 (f. 32^{v}–33^{v}) was edited in Gaster (1891: 171–172) while ms. 5034 (f. 2$^{r–v}$) was edited in Pamfile (1916: 239–241).

[55] For printed variants of *Avestița*, see Tiktin 1889: 247-248, Marian 1892: 29-32, Lupescu 1899: 156-157, Mateescu 1911: 38-40, 70–71, Pamfile 1916: 237-249, Hasdeu 1984: 213-214, *Minunile* 1869: 1-2, *Trepetnicul* 1889: 27-32.

[56] The name of the saint can vary: in the text published by Tiktin, the name of the character who witnesses the encounter between the archangel and the female demon cannot be read; *Trepetnicul* (1889) mentions Saint Joseph, not Saint Sisinnios; another text mentions Saint Paul Săjinit (*Sântul Pavăl Săjinit*) (Mateescu 1911: 38); the witness of the meeting between the archangel Michael and the demon can be "God's servant, Semion" (ms. 2150) or "Saint Sâneia" (ms. 5034, f. 3^{r-v}).

[57] Three acephalous manuscript variants (ms. 1255, 1335, 3479, f. 39^{r}-43^{v}) could not be taken into account in this study. We have also disregarded ms. 3270 from which an introductory fragment is the only part preserved, and ms. 2183 (f. 159^{r-v}), which is similar to a curse uttered against the demon that does harm to children. For this last manuscript, written by Ioan from the village of Bărbățești (Vâlcea County), who became a monk at Bistrița Monastery (Oltenia) in 1800 and who carried out an important activity as a scribe both as a layman and a monk, see Timotin–Timotin 2002: 40-44.

[58] Ms. 3479 (f. 44^{r}–48^{r}; 88$^{r–v}$) refers to Mount Zion.

[59] In some versions, Archangel Gabriel joins Michael on his mission (e.g. ms. 4862; ms. 3479, the variants in f. 73^{r}; 74^{r}; 84^{r}; 88$^{r–v}$). In ms. 2188, Archangel Michael is substituted for Archangel Gabriel. In ms. 4833, Michael is accompanied by four other archangels. Archangel Michael can be replaced by other characters in Greek texts, too (Patera 2006-2007: 317).

[60] The name of the demon comes from the old Slavonic **veštica* (cf. the Bulgarian word *veštica*) "witch" (Candrea 1999: 189, DELR, *avestița* in old Slavonic). For further information about the etymology of the name "Avestița", see Badanova Geller 2015: 178, note 7.

the demon's malefic power.[61] Finally, the archangel urges the demon to descend into the fiery depths of hell[62] until the Last Judgement. Sometimes an exorcism against the same evil spirit is uttered by the angel so as to endorse the deal.

More often than not, the text has no title. In case there is one, it is extremely variable. For instance, the text can be titled *Cartea Avezuhei*[63] [The Book of Avezuha] (ms. 1619), *Rugăciune de Samcă*[64] [Prayer against Samca] (ms. 3479, f. 25^{r}–27^{v}), *Numele Avestiţăi* [The Name of Avestiţa] (ms. 1166). In other cases, it has a descriptive character – *Avestiţa, aripa Satani<i> celui mare, când s-au întâlnit cu arhanghel Mihail, voievodul îngesc, pe munte* [The Encounter of Avestiţa, the Wing of the great Satan, with archangel Michael, the voivode of the heavenly armies, on the mountain] (ms. 1739) – or insists on the demon's suffering: *Zapisul Samcăi, ci l-au făcut, cu mare frică, la mâna sfântului şi marelui arhaghel Mihail şi Gavriil, voievozii cetilor îngereşti, pentru ca să o slăboade de strâmtimea legăturii ce o legasă* [The Deal sealed with great fear by the saints and great Archangels Michael and Gabriel, voivodes of the heavenly armies, to loosen the tightly tied Samca] (ms. 3479, f. 44^{v}–48^{r}). Sometimes the title points out the protective character of the text: *Această carte este pentru ca să nu să apropie diiavolul de acea casă unde să vor afla aceste scrise* [This book is meant to keep the devil away from the house where all this is written down] (ms. 1194). In some cases, the title foregrounds the good characters: *Cuvânt pentru sfinţii voievozi Mihail şi Gavril* [Oration on the holy Saints Michael and Gabriel] (ms. 3479, f. 84^{r}).

Under the influence of *The Sisinnios Legend*, the title includes the name of this saint: *Cuvânt foarte de folos al Sfântului Sisoie pentru copii sugători* [The Helpful advice given by Saint Sisoie in respect to suckling babies] (ms. 5289). This has led to the emergence of certain errors related to the manner in which the text is signalled in manuscript catalogues.[65]

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[61] Ms. 3479 mentions that the efficiency of the deal can be reinforced if, apart from her written names, it contains a drawing of Avestiţa's face: *Şi pă unde sânt numele mele şi chipul meu scris, acolo nu mă pot apropiia de o milă de loc* "I will stay a mile away from any house where my name and face are written"] (f. 37^{v}). A similar suggestion can be found in ms. 4400 (f. 11^{v}). Similar practices are also mentioned by Simeon Florea Marian (1892: 28), Ştefania Cristescu (2003: 253-255), Adrian Fochi (1976: 263-264).

[62] According to ms. 1067 (f. 33^{v}), Avestiţa is sent to the depths of hell to her father Verzuvul, the twisted name of Beelzebub.

[63] Avezuha/Avizuha is one of the demon's names.

[64] Samca is another well-kwown name of the demon, which is likely to come from the Bulgarian word *sĕnka* "shadow, ghost" (Candrea 1999: 189).

[65] For instance, scholars have argued that ms. 1143 (f. 70^{r}–1^{v}) contains a *Sisinnios Legend*, though it includes a version of *Avestiţa*. The confusion is based on the text title: *Cuvânt de folos al Sfântului Sisoie întru copii* [The helpful advice given by Sisoie in respect to children] (Ştrempel 1978: 237). The same confusion is also present in the description of ms. 1215 and 3163 (Ştrempel 1978: 258; 1987: 34). *Avestiţa* may not be mentioned in manuscript catalogues even when it is copied beside *The Sisinnios Legend*. Such is the case of ms. 274, where *Avestiţa* is copied under the title of *Această poveste a sfântului Sisoi* [This story of Saint Sisoi] (f. 18^{v}–20^{r}) and followed by a version of *The Sisinnios Legend*; the author of the catalogue claims that we deal with a single text (Ştrempel 1978: 78). The same is true of ms. 2226, where *Avestiţa* (f. 32^{v}–34^{r}) precedes *The Sisinnios Legend* (f. 34^{r}–39^{v}).

All the texts reveal a terrifying portrait of the female demon. Avestița always has the following characteristics: she has long dishevelled hair, frightening eyes, claw-like nails and wild beast hands. Her portrait explicitly shows that she jeopardizes the life of newborns: "Avezuha, the Wing of Satan, so wonderful, with one-fathom-long hands, with hair covering her head and her body down to the heels, with her hand and toenails looking like sickles and with a baby in her hands, all lacerated and scratched by her nails"[66] (ms. 3479, f. 87^{r}). Her portrait accompanied by a few particular elements can be found in an 1831 codex copied by the nun Theodosiia at Neamț Monastery: "Upon descending from Mount of Olives, Archangel Michael encountered an evil and very frightening spirit, whose hair fell over her heels and her breasts reaching her knees. She had iron hand and legs, the mouth of a lion, the eyes of an ox, a flaming tongue, a dragon's tail stuck straight up and curled against her neck"[67] (ms. 1619, f 3^{v}).

According to these writings, the female demon is protean and takes the form either of different animals or of natural phenomena. Avestița can get into people's houses under the guise of a woman, she can turn into a dog, a greyhound, a cat, a cock, a hen, a turkey hen, a duck, a chicken, a rabbit, a goat, a horse, a cow, a buffalo, a hart, a fly, a spider, a flea, an ant, a bug, a locust, a mosquito, a butterfly, a caterpillar, an owl, a jackdaw, a crow, a pigeon, a bird, a frog, a mouse, a snake, a flying creature, a pig. She can also disguise as haze, smoke, fire, fog, darkness, wind, storm, light, a shadow, heat, cold, ice, a beast, a lion, a book, coal, a cart, a road, a hill, a grain of millet, a stone or an arrow.

The names of Avestița are extremely varied. In the Greek and Slavonic variants of the text some of the names must have been intelligible and related to the different forms the demon could take.[68] Afterwards, they have been altered by translations and copies. The variety of Romanian names has occurred particularly because of the misunderstandings caused by the transcription of the text.[69] We assume that the scribes did not leave a blank space where the manuscript they copied from was not intelligible because a missing name would have rendered the amulet inefficient. Consequently, almost every Romanian variant contributes to diversifying the names of the evil spirit. The Romanian texts usually enumerate 19 names of Avestița.[70] Avezuha, Brona, Deca, Grapa, Huba, Huluba, Leba, Muha,

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[66] Here is the Romanian text: *Avezuha, aripa Satanei, așa de minunată, cu mâinile lungi de un stânjenu, părul pi cap și pi trup până în călcâiu, cu unghii la mâni și la picioare ca niște săceri și cu un pruncu în mânile-i, sfărâmat și zgâriet cu unghiile ei.*

[67] *Pogorându-să sfântul arhanghel Mihail din muntele Eleonului, întâlni un duh necurat, foarte groaznic, cu părul capului până la călcâi, cu țițile până la genunche, cu mâinile și picioarele de fier, cu gura ca de leu, cu ochii ca de bou, cu limba în gură de foc, cu coada ca la balauru, rădicată pi spate și încolătăcită pe la grumaz.*

[68] See Gaster 1983: 261, Cartojan 1929: 149, and the recent discussions published in Toporkov 2017: 293-300, 446-451.

[69] For the variable names of the demon, see Hasdeu 1984: 214-215; Mazilu–Timotin 2017: 536-537, Mazilu 2017.

[70] Unlike Greek texts, for instance, where there are particularly 12 and a half names (Sathas 1876: 573-578, Gaster 1983: 261) or between 12 and 72 (Passalis 2014: 112).

Navadariia, Puha, Samca, Scormela, Şelii, Solomiia, Tiha, Viştiţa, Zlaia are the most recurrent names that are also subject to variations. One can also find other names, some of them original, such as Ahala, Aida, Baluha, Boloba, Comoara, Curma, Ersina, Falnica, Genţia, Hluchica, Honea, Nenesina, Susonomena, Şarpe, Vunari, Zemiha, Zoiţa, etc.

Some texts covertly describe the harm inflicted by the demon through the words of Archangel Michael: "Tell me, evil spirit, what tricks do you perform to get close to the houses of God's Christian servants, to do a lot of harm to their houses and to spread deadly diseases, great torments, twinges, back pain, chest pain and head aches, leg pain and chills and other devilish things?"[71] (ms. 3479, f.79^{v}).

Instead, the categories of people who fall victims to the harmful influence of the demon are a constant of the text. First of all, they comprise pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns. They also include those types that fall within the ambit of the canons of the Church: witches, people who have no respect for their family, girls who commit infanticide. Thus, the writing plays the role of a moral handbook derived from the Christian tradition. The following quotation is a telling example: "I shall get even closer to the one who steals the milk of cows, who is a trickster, who is a witch that seeks to read the stars, that uses wax, bread, lead, a sieve, or a brush, or kernels to tell fortunes, to the one who does not do justice to his wife, and to the pregnant young lady who beats her body in order to terminate her pregnancy"[72] (ms. 2182, f. 5^{r-v}).

The occasional inclusion of fragments from exorcisms corroborated with excerpts from Psalms is likely to have contributed to the wide circulation of *Avestiţa*. In ms. 1439, for example, the demon adds something new to her confessions about how she can be chased away: Psalm 67 is helpful to keep the demon away. This explanation makes *Avestiţa* comparable to certain versions of *The Sisinnios Legend* (*supra*, type E): "You shall know this: let God arise, let his enemies be scattered. If uttered to the very end, this psalm will chase us away and we shall not get close to that man and his house"[73] (f. 174^{r}).

Put to the edge of the sword, the evil spirit is definitively banished by the Archangel Michael only through prayer powered in conjunction with the other saints: first of all, the hieromonks Anthony and Teodosie, whose hagiographies include stories of their fight with evil spirits; thaumaturgic saints, such as Spyridon of Trimitunda; the

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[71] Here is the Romanian text: *Spuni-mi, duh necurat, cu ci fil di meştişugu ti apropii de casăli creştinilor robilor lui Dumnezău şi faci multi răutăţi pi la casile lor şi dai boali răli, strânsori mari şi junghiuri şi dureri di spati şi dureri di chept şi dureri di cap şi dureri di picioari şi friguri şi multi răutăţi.*

[72] *Şi mai tare mă apropiu de care ia mana altor vite şi de care este pozovenghe şi de care este fermecătoare şi de care caută cu steao şi de care caută cu ceara şi cu pâinea, sau cu plumbu, sau cu sita, sau cu periia, sau cu bobi, sau de care nu ţine în dreptate cu soţiia, şi de care fată este îngreuiată şi să bate preste tot trupu.*

[73] *Să şti<i> şi aceasta: când cetesc creştinii pravoslavnici acest psalom, «Să învie Dumnezeu şi să să risipească vrăjmaşii lui», acest psalom, de-l va zice până în sfârşit, atuncea fugim şi nu ne putem apropiia de omul acela şi de casa lui...*

prophet Elijah,[74] apostles and other saints highly worshipped in the Orthodox world, such as St. John Chrysostom, St. Nicholas, Demetrius or George. The evocation of the saints is followed by another verse of the same Psalm 67 used in ms. 1439 as well:

> "Cursed shall thou be by our Lord Jesus Christ and His Mother and all saints. I shall send the curse upon you and shall bind it with Saint Athanasius the Great, Anthony the Pious and the pious saint Theodosius. Cursed shall thou be by Saint Andrew the Great too, and by the Wonderworker Saint Hierarch Spyridon of Trimitunda, and by Saint Sava the Great. Cursed shall thou be by Saint Elijah the Great too, who holds the powers of heaven, who chases and scatters the wicked writings everywhere. Cursed shall thou be by Saint John Zlatoust the Great, and Saint Hierarch Nicholas, and the Great Martyr Demetrius, and the Holy Great Martyr Saint George. Cursed shall thou be by the 12 apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the holy martyrs, by all saints and wonderful angels and saints, and the zealous seraphim and cherubim saints, and all archangels and angels, and all the voivodes of our Lord Jesus Christ (...) As smoke is driven away, and as wax melts before the fire, so the wicked shall perish before those who love God (state their name)...]"[75] (ms. 3195, f. 65^{r-v}, 66^{r}).

Most of the versions present the exorcism as an interdiction which describes the domestic space and the goods that need to be protected against the evil spirit:

> "Thou, evil spirit, I command you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to stay seven[76] miles away from the house of this (whatever her name is) woman and her baby. Thou, evil spirit, shall not come close to their house, their table, their border stones, their horses, their craft, their fence, their meals and food, their fortune or whatever our merciful Lord Jesus Christ hath given them"[77] (ms. 1524, f. 70^{v}).

Only seldom does the exorcism contain an enumeration of the places where the demon might dwell:[78]

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[74] In the Jewish tradition, Elijah prevented the female demon called Lilith, who bore many other names just like Avestița, from attacking newborn infants (Gaster 2003 [1881]); in the Romanian tradition, his role is played by the archangel.

[75] Here is the Romanian text: *Să fii blăstimat de Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos şi a Maicii Sale şi ale tuturor sfinţilor. Şi te blastăm şi te legu cu blestemul sfântului marelui Atanasi şi de sfântul şi precuviosul Antonii şi de sfântul şi cuviosul Teodosi. Să fii blăstămat şi de sfântul marile Andrei şi de sfântul şi marile Spiridon al Trimutundii, făcătoriul de minuni, şi de sfântul marele Sava. Să fii blăstămat şi de sfântul marile Ilii, care poartă puterile cereşti şi goneşte şi răsăpeşte pretutindini cărţile drăceşti. Şi să fii blăstămat şi de sfântul şi marile Ioan Zlatoust, şi de sfântul şi marele ierarh Niculai şi de sfântul şi marele mucenic Dimitrie, şi de sfântul marele mucenic Gheorghie. Să fii blăstămat şi de cei 12 apostoli a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos şi de sfinţii mucenici şi de toţi sfinţii şi minunaţii îngeri şi de toţi sfinţii înfocaţi herovimi şi serafimi şi de toţi arhanghelii şi angelii şi de toţi voievozii a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos (...) Şi cum piere fumul şi cum se topeşte ceara de faţa focului, aşa să piiară dracii de la faţa iubitorilor de Dumnezeu (cutare).*

[76] According to each version, the number of miles can be 1, 3, 5, 7, 17, 19, 30, 72, 100 or 7 million.

[77] *O, tu, duh necurat, iată că-ţi poroncesc cu numele Domnului nostru Isus Hristos, ca să nu te apropii de şapte mile de loc de roaba lui Dumnezeu (cutare) şi de acest pruncu (cutare). Să nu te apropii tu, duh necurat, nici de casa lor, nici de masa lor, nici de chiotori<i> casălor, nici de caii lor, nici de meşteşugul lor, nici de gardul lor, nici de bucatele lor, nici de hrana lor, nici de agonisita lor, nici de celi ce le-au dat milostivul Dumnezău nostru, Isus Hristos.*

[78] A similar formula can be found in an 1833 pain charm (Timotin 2010: 367).

> "Run away or, if you are in the house, or in the porch, or in the doorway, or on the roof, or on the eaves, or in the attic, or in the hole, or in the forest, or in the trees, or in the well, or in the pond, or in the field, or in the weeds, or in the water hole, or in the reed, or in the wind, or in the air, or wherever you may be, run away! Foul demon, thou shall be ashamed, tainted, defeated and senseless and shall pass through the fire together with Satan and the lawless Judah to the depths of Tartarus, now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen!"[79] (ms. 1524, f. 70^{v}).

Certain versions of *Avestița* contain explicit reminiscences of its connection with *The Sisinnios Legend*, apart from the presence of the saint as a witness to the encounter between the demon and the angel. Here are several parallel motifs: first of all, the Archangel Michael is sent by God himself to fight against the demon; also, it is God himself that assigns Sisinnios the task of rescuing the children of his sister (*e.g.* ms. 1524). Following the suffering she goes through, Avestița spits a lot of newborns out of her mouth, as does the devil with Melentia's babies (*e.g.* ms. 3195). The grain of millet is one of Avestița's appearances (ms. 2248, f. 41^{r}); the evil spirit in *The Sisinnios Legend* similarly sneaks in the lead-made hermitage (ms. 1698, f. 39^{v}–40^{v}; ms. 2248; ms. 3479, f. 89$^{r–v}$).

In some cases, the texts comprise ritual indications. Some of them show that the reading of the text was part of a potentially private undertaking performed by a priest. For instance, the end of a manuscript records the following exhortation: *Preotul, cându faci o sfeştanie, să cetească hârtiia şi să zică trupariul sfântului Mihail* "In the case of a consecration, the priest shall read the prayer and sing the troparion of Saint Michael (ms. 3479, f. 71^{v}). There are also indications for the repeated reading of the writing, "for seven days" (ms. 1619, f. 3^{v}) or "seven times" (ms. 2858, f. 48^{r}).

In order to ensure the circulation of the text scribes certify its authenticity and efficacy in a manner similar to the one found in the Romanian tradition of the apocryphal writing *The Letter of Christ fallen from the Sky*.[80] Comparable to the same apocryphal text, the final part of a version of *Avestița* includes promises of forgiveness of sins and the protection against evil spirits: "This book is so powerful that whoever will read it, or write it, or fondly listen to it shall know peace and God's forgiveness of their sins for a hundred days and nothing shall do them harm. Any pregnant woman who will carry it all the time with her shall know God's mercy and shall earn people's welcome and shall defeat all her foes"[81] (ms. 3964, f. 31^{v}–32^{r}).

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[79] Here is the Romanian text: *Să te duci şi să fugi sau de eşti în casă, sau din tindă, sau din pragul uşii, sau de pre casă, sau din streaşină, sau din pod, sau din groapă, sau din pădure, sau din copaci, sau din fântână, sau din heleşteu, sau de pre câmpu, sau din buruieni, sau din baltă, sau din trestii, sau din vânt, sau din văzduh, sau de unde vei fi, să fugi, să te duci ruşinat şi necurat şi înfruntat, fără de simțire, diiavole, împreună cu Satana şi cu Iuda cel fără de lege, prin matca focului şi prin adâncul Tartarului, până în veci de veci. Aminu.*

[80] See Timotin (2005: 318-319; 325; 328; 336-338; 351; 361-363; 368-369; 375-377; 385; 389-394.

[81] Here is the Romanian text: *Cartea aceasta mare putere are, că cine o va citi sau o va izvodi sau o va asculta cu dragoste, acel om are pace şi iertare de păcatele sale de la Dumnezeu o sută de zile şi niciun lucru nu-i va strica. Şi care fămeie va fi îngreunată şi o va purta-o la dânsa va avea milă de la Dumnezeu şi priimință de la oameni şi va birui pre toți vrăjmaşii săi.* For similar passages in the apocryphal *Letter of Christ*, see Timotin (2005: 184-185, 195).

The promise of forgiveness of the scribe's sins for a hundred days links the text of ms. 3964 to a certain Romanian redaction of the apocryphal *Letter of Christ*, which enjoyed wide circulation as an amulet. One of its versions is copied in the very ms. 3964, immediately after *Avestița, the Wing of Satan*.[82] This is a clear indication that *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* occasionally included motifs borrowed from other successful writings of the time.

The texts about the supernatural being that vanquishes the malefic spirit who kidnaps children have influenced the traditional practices of the newborns' protection. The folklore research published since the latter half of the 19th century constantly record the use as an amulet of a text against the female demon most notably called Avestița or Samca. The amulet was either worn by pregnant women so as to help them carry the baby to full term or placed in the newborns' swing.[83] This practice was still common in Moldavia, in Iași, Neamț, Suceava, Vaslui and Vrancea counties, even in the second half of the 20th century.[84]

III. THE PRESENCE OF SAMCA IN ROMANIAN MANUSCRIPT CHARMS

Samca represents the unique name of the protean female demon, whose use seems not to have been confined to the already described textual tradition (*supra*, II). A malefic supernatural being called Samca – or Sanca/ Samba[85] – appears occasionally in Romanian charms from oral tradition.

A few texts of this kind collected from different regions of Moldavia and Wallachia at the end of the 19th century aim to drive away the malefic spirit called Samca.[86] The structure of the charms "against Samca" is common in oral tradition: they stand for a *historiola* which narrates that a patient gets ill after having encountered a malefic character and that his cry catch the attention of a good-natured supernatural character that helps him heal.

Samca appears not only in charms aimed for healing the disease she causes, but also in magical curative texts with other functions. This phenomenon was attested at the dawn of the 19th century, when a charm in a codex written between 1808 and 1815 by a priest from Moldavia (ms. 1262)[87] attributes the cause of the disease traditionally called *udmă* to Samca. The term *udmă*, whose etymology is unknown, particularly designates an inflammation:[88] "N set out on a path, when suddenly the black Samca ran across him half-way. Samca showed herself in sleep,

[82] See Timotin 2005: 180-229, especially page 192.
[83] See Marian 1892: 26-28), Fochi 1976: 263-264.
[84] See Hulubaș 2012: 222, 227.
[85] See Rosetti 1975: 117.
[86] Marian 1892: 34-36.
[87] For the description of the codex, see Ștrempel–Moisil–Stoianovici 1967: 390-392, Ștrempel 1978: 269-270; for other charms in the codex, see Timotin 2010: 284, 349.
[88] The word is also is explained as "adenitis"; "goiter", "mumps", "whitlow", "erysipelas"; regionally it can also designate an "underdeveloped child" (DLR, s.v. *uimă*).

in the evil eye, Samca when you're hungry, Samca when you're thirsty. 99 tribes through whom Samca shows herself. She ate N's flesh and drank N's blood and blurred N's eyes"[89] (ms. 1262, f. 85^{v}).

In this context, the relation between Samca and the inflammation is unclear because the versions of *Avestița* never say that the protean female demon causes skin inflammation. The appearance of Samca in this charm may have been occasioned by the fact that *uima* rarely meant "a thin, underdeveloped child"; thus, by extension, the demon that attacked newborns would have been invested with the power to prevent growth in any child. Given that the notions of "underdeveloped child" and "inflammation" could be expressed by the same term,[90] Samca becomes a key-figure in this manuscript charm.

Samca is also referred to in another manuscript charm, copied by an anonymous scribe at the beginning of the 19th century (ms. 4917, 3^{r}).[91] The writing's function is unknown because its title is corrupted and the text itself is structured like a quite common *historiola*. Here Samca appears in a long enumeration of demonic figures that may have caused the patient's disease. The malefic group is comprised especially of couples of demons, one male, the other female, with the female name derived from the male one.[92] The demons' organization into couples is a recurrent practice in Romanian charms, where it functions like a prototypical structure for chasing the malefic beings away. It is built on the belief that the pair acts as a symbol of completeness.[93]

In this manuscript charm, the reference to Samca fails to observe the pattern of organization into couples. Conversely, it conflates two female names: the first is *Samca* and the second is *Sămcoaie*, a name derived from *Samca* with the suffix *-oaie*, which has a dual function in Romanian – as an augmentative and motional feminine suffix: "N set out on his path. Half-way he came across a lion and a lioness, a dragon and a dragoness, the male evil eye and the female evil eye, *Samca* and *Sămcoaie*,[94] with 9 arrows, nine poleaxes, nine knives, nine augers, nine chisels, nine swords. They struck him with the arrows, hit him with the poleaxes,

[89] Here is the Romanian text: *Cutare purces-au pe cale, pe carare, când au fostu la mijloc de cale tumpunatu-l-au Samcă niagră, Samcă pin somnu, Samcă pin didiochiiu, Samcă pin foame, Samcă pin sete, Samcă pin 99 de niamuri şi carne i-au mâncat şi sângele i-au băut, ochii i-au împăi<n>jinit*. For the entire charm, see Timotin (2010: 352).

[90] Polysemy is a prevailing feature of many Romanian traditional medical terms; see Purdela Sitaru 1999; Timotin 2010.

[91] For the description of the miscellany, see Ştrempel 1992: 155; for other charms in the manuscript, see Timotin 2010: 343, 363.

[92] The derivational productivity meant to create names of demons that act in pairs has been discussed in studies dedicated to the language of Romanian charms; see Densusianu 1968: 322-332, Timotin 2003, Golopenția 2007: 167-176.

[93] See Timotin 2003.

[94] A derivative like *Sămcoaia*, created with a suffix which also has an augmentative role, may have given birth to a malefic character called "the Great Samca" in a charm collected in Moldavia (Neamț County) in 1971 (Ciubotaru 2009: 317).

thrust him with the knives, drilled him with the augers, carved his flesh with the chisels, cut him off with the swords".[95]

The presence of this couple in the manuscript charms shows that at the beginning of the 19th century Samca could be particularly perceived as a generic female demon whose power was signalled by the creation of new names of demons derived from her name. Neither this charm, nor other charms unedited or published by folklorists particularly in the last quarter of the 19th century mention any other name of the protean female demon but Samca.

The charms of oral tradition also evoke the same pair *Samca – Samcoaica* (< *Samca* + suffix *-oaică*[96]): "He was welcomed by a lion and a lioness, by a dragon and a dragoness, by *Samca and samcoaica*".[97] These charms sometimes mention new pairs made up of two female names as well: *Samca – Şămculeasa.*[98]

The massive use of derivation to create names of demons in Romanian charms has created the prerequisites for the emergence of a new male malefic figure whose name is derived from *Samca*: *Sămcoiul*. His appearance shows that the traditional imaginary separated Samca from the series of the other 18 names of the protean female demon and that she has become one of the many traditional demons that act particularly in a couple: "And that soul was hindered by a lion and a lioness, by a dragon and a dragoness, by a dog and a bitch, by a male and female bird, by *Samca and samcoi*".[99]

Also, Samca's attributes are weakened in the charms in which the demon's name appears in the plural so as to describe a cohort of malefic female figures without specific characteristics: "Where are you going, *Samcas*?"[100]

Under the influence of the Romanian tradition, the charms of the Gagauz people from the Republic of Moldova evoke Samca both as an adult and a child, etc.[101]

IV. SISINNIOS AND THE FEVER

The belief in Saint Sisinnios' power to chase the malefic spirits away is also revealed by three manuscript charms against fever.

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[95] Here is the Romanian text: *Purces-au cutare pe cale, pe cărare, când fu la mijloc de cale tâlnitu-l-au leul cu leoai<e>, zmăul cu zmăoai<e>, didiochiul cu didiochitoare, Samca cu Sămcoaie, cu 9 săgeţ, cu noaî bărz, cu 9 cuţâte, cu 9 sfredele, cu 9 dălţ, cu 9 sabii, cu săgeţâle săgetatu-lu-au, cu bărzâle bărduitu-l-a, cu cuţâtele giunghetu-l-au, cu sfredelele sfredelitu-l-au, cu dălţâle dăltuitu-l-au, cu sabie tăietu-l-au*. For the complete text, see Timotin 2010: 344.

[96] The gradual replacement of the suffix *-oaie* with the suffix *-oaică* in charms of oral tradition has been discussed by Densusianu (1968: 236).

[97] Here is the Romanian fragment: *L-o-ntimpinat: leu cu leoaica,/ Zmeu cu zmeoaica,/ Samca cu samcoaica*. See the entire charm in Marian (1996[2]: 201).

[98] Cristescu 2003: 251.

[99] *Şi mi ţi-l opri:/ Leul cu leoaica,/ Zmeul cu zmeoaica,/ câinele cu căţeaua,/ Zburătoarea cu zburătorul,/ Samca cu samcoiul*; apud Marian 1996[2]: 183. The pair *Samca – Sămcoi* also appears in a charm collected in Moldavia in 1974 (Bacău County) (Ciubotaru 2009: 485).

[100] *Unde vă duceţi, Săncilor?*; *apud* Rosetti 1975: 117.

[101] See Kapaló 2011: 170.

Among the seven types of charms against fever preserved in Romanian manuscripts,[102] they are a special case. They take the form of a conjuration and have the following characteristics: they portray fever as a result of the action performed by a malefic demon named by the plural *iezeri*, who must be exorcized; also, they evoke saints with similar names or evoke the same saint repetitively.

Two charms date from the second half of the 18th century (ms. 1739, f. 24r-v);[103] the latter was written by an anonymous scribe from Wallachia at the end of the 18th century (ms. 3944, f. 104v–105r)[104] The third one can be found in a codex compiled by an anonymous scribe in the early 19th century (ms. 270, f. 148r–148v).[105] The text blends the conjuration against fever with a scene portraying the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, which had circulated as an independent charm against fever in ms. 1739 and 3944.

In all texts fever is designated by the word *friguri* (< lat. *frigora*) "fever", the plural of *frig*, which usually denoted this disease in the Romanian language used between the 16th and the 18th centuries.[106] The use of the term *friguri* "fever" in the plural imposed the use in the plural of the other noun which denotes fever: *iezeri* (old Slavonic «ezero "lake") (Miklosisch, *Lexicon*, s.v). Specific to the three charms, this name used to denote fever echoes the belief in the lacustrine etiology of the disease.

After the opening formula, which puts the patient under God's protection, the curse's efficacy against fever is strengthened by the invocation of Christ, Saint John the Baptist, Archangels Michael and Gabriel and, in two cases, John the Martyr (ms. 3944, 270). This martyr has an unknown identity, since the charms do not refer to his beneficial action, the only one able to give a clue as to who one should choose from the many saints that bear this name. The texts also make reference to three holy characters with slightly altered names – Sacail, Socail, Socoil (ms. 1739) and to a single one, Sokhain, respectively, whose name repeats two times (ms. 3944, 270).

The connection between fever, the beheading of Saint John the Baptist and an angel whose name is almost identical with that of the saints *Sacail – Socail – Socoil – Sokhain* is also found in the *Index of Forbidden Books* [Indicele de cărți interzise], which was translated from Russian into Romanian by Staico, a scribe at the Princely Church in Târgoviște, between 1667 and 1669.[107] *The Index* attributes the Bogomilian priest Ieremia the creation of a spurious writing whose protagonists are Saint Sisinnios, his helper – an angel called Sikhail – and seven girls of Herod that are said to cause fever. The author of *The Index* excoriates the discrepancies

[102] See Timotin 2015: 77-132.

[103] For the description of the codex, see Ştrempel 1983: 48-49; for other charms in this manuscript, see Timotin 2010: 279, 296, 317, 319.

[104] For the description of the codex, see Ştrempel (1987: 283-284); for other charms in this manuscript, see Timotin 2010: 260, 297, 318, 320, 359.

[105] For the description of the codex, see Bianu 1907: 616-617, Ştrempel 1978: 76.

[106] See Timotin 2010b.

[107] For a recent analysis of the *Index*, which also contains a new edition of the text, see Mareş 2006: 222-266.

between Ieremia's apocryphal text and the evangelical one (*Matthew* 14, 1-12; *Mark* 6, 14-29). Also, he reminds us that Herod had a single girl who danced and asked for John the Baptist to be decapitated and that she actually was the natural daughter of Philip.

The details recorded in *The Index of Forbidden Books* allowed Al. Mareş to observe that the tradition of Saint Sisinnios evoked by *The Index* differs from the one which portrays the saint as a protector of newborns against the demon's attacks.[108] However, the motifs of *The Index* can be found in the Russian variants of *The Sisinnios Legend*. As shown by W. F. Ryan, these writings have undergone a triple change compared to the Byzantine versions. First, the female demon named Gylou in Greek has been replaced by many fever-causing female demons. Their names can be derived from the Greek names of Gylou, though they rather describe symptoms of fever. Second, the writing is no longer related to the dangers of birth. Finally, the demonic figures – identified with Herod's daughters – can overlap with other traditional Russian figures.[109]

The three Romanian charms and the narrative about Saint Sisinnios mentioned in *The Index of Forbidden Books* and attested in the Russian tradition evince the following common features:

1. Both types of writings have the role of healing fever;

2. The beheading of Saint John the Baptist underlies the references to Herod's daughters in *The Index of Forbidden Books*, as well as in Russian apocrypha and charms. It is a key-motif in the Romanian charm of ms. 270 and is also suggested in ms. 1739 and 3944.

However, it is precisely this motif that the texts rework. *The Index* and the Russian writings use it to enlarge upon the history of Herod's seven malefic daughters that cause fever. Romanian charms mention the episode in which John's head is brought into Herod's banquet hall as a moment which legitimates the saint's power to heal fever. Nevertheless, they never speak about the multiplication of Herod's daughters, but fever could be conceived as a plurality of homonymous female demons, since *friguri*, the Romanian name, has the form of a plural.

3. Among the potential fever healers, Romanian charms evoke a mysterious martyr, Sokhain, whose name must be repeated three times, or a trio made up of three saints with similar names – Sacail, Socail, Socoil (ms. 1739).

We claim that both the name composed of three forms that are almost identical and the one formed by the repetition of the same name are alterations of the name Sikhail or Sisin to which, as a matter of fact, they are formally related. Sikhail is the name of the angel which *The Index places* close to Saint Sisinie. Sisin is one of the numerous names Sisinie bears even in the Romanian tradition (*supra*, I).

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[108] See Mareş 2006: 244.

[109] See Ryan 2006. For the iconography of the Russian charms against fever, see Toporkov 2011. Attested in the Russian tradition, the practice of describing this curative story can be likened to the Romanian practice of portraying the encounter between the Archangel Michael and Avestiţa (*supra*, II).

Our explanation is endorsed by the fact that like other traditions, the Romanian tradition portrays Sisinie as a saint often accompanied by one or two heroes with a similar name, who are often his brothers (*supra* I). On the other hand, Sisinie was assigned not only the task of protecting newborns and women lately confined, but also of healing fever.[110] At the same time, the Russian versions of *The Sisinnios Legend* assign him the role of defeating to a group of female demons assimilated to Herod's daughters.

Therefore, the presence of the angel Sikhail or of Saint Sisinie – whose traditional function was to protect pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns against demonic attacks – side by side with Saint John the Baptist in Romanian charms against fever shows that these texts, like the Russian ones, associated the beheading of Saint John with the figure of Sisinnios. This association assigned Sisinnios the role of a protector against fever-causing female demons. Romanian charms no longer retain the motif of female demons, but preserve the idea that fever is caused by many demons because the disease was constantly designated by a neuter noun in the plural. Romanian charms in which demons have a lacustrine nature can once again be compared to Russian and Ukrainian charms which occasionally attribute fever the same etiology.[111]

CONCLUSIONS

The Romanian tradition of the female demon that inflicts harm on pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns and of her exceptional opponent was attested at the end of the 16th century, the first century when literature was written in Romanian. Like other writings of the time (apocrypha, charms), the texts circulated exclusively in the manuscript form until the mid-19th century. Later on they took the form of widely-circulated chapbooks.

The multi-named protean female demon became part of the Romanian tradition in the 18th century due to a writing which speaks about her encounter with an archangel, an encounter possibly witnessed by Saint Sisinnios (*II*). This tradition had been preceded by another one, according to which Saint Sisinnios rescues the children of her sister Melentia, though not from a multi-named female demon but from the devil (*I*). Eliminating the demon's specific features may have had the role of giving the text a Christian tinge that was likely to be labelled as a hagiographic episode.

The texts that depict the fight between Saint Sisinnios and the devil varied significantly in the manuscript form and illustrated two redactions divided into six types. One of them (type E) formed the basis for printed versions. Illustrated by a single manuscript, type D dates from the early 19th century and seems to have been

[110] The amulet discovered in Oltenia displays a prayer to Jesus Christ and Saint Sisinnios meant to heal fever (*supra*, I).

[111] See Kencis 2011: 171.

influenced by writings patterned after *Avestița, the Wing of Satan*, to the extent that it reminds us that the devil is actually a female demon bearing many names. The interdependence between two different traditions of the text can be found in other literatures as well.[112]

In spite of their particularities that relate the text to the hagiographic genre, the texts about Saint Sisinnios and the devil who kidnaps children were more narrowly circulated than the writings which portray the encounter between the Archangel Michael and Avestița. This phenomenon is not typical of the Romanian cultural space. A similar situation occurs, for instance, in Greece.[113]

The large number of writings of the Avestița(-Sisoie) type allows us to claim that they were attuned to well-known beliefs about the protection of pregnant women, women lately confined and newborns and that they could easily be integrated into rituals for protecting the domestic universe. Romanian charms bears testimony to the popularity enjoyed by *Avestița, the Wing of Satan*. They show that ever since the early 19th century, Samca, one of the 19 Romanian names of the protean female demon, was perfectly integrated into the traditional demonological system (*III*). Thus, Samca appears in magical scenarios where she no longer exerts her major function and where she is sometimes paired with a male character, according to a pattern frequently found in Romanian magic folklore. Her perfect integration into Romanian charms, which led to the loss of her specific characteristics, shows that Samca and the other names of the malefic demon were known in the Romanian cultural space long before the period when the oldest versions of *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* were published.

In parallel with these two traditions borrowed from post-Byzantine and south Slavic literature, there is a third, and poorly attested tradition of Saint Sisinioss curative powers. Appearing at a later date, it is illustrated by three charms dating from the late 18th century and the early 19th century and is the outcome of the Russo-Ukrainian influence. The three charms correlate three motifs: the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, fever as a disease caused by many homonymous demons and Saint Sisinnios, who is assigned the new role of healing fever while being assisted by an exceptional character with a similar name. Romanian manuscript charms thus capitalize on a textual tradition which only *The Index of Forbidden Books* records in Romanian literature.

The texts examined here circulated in all the regions inhabited by Romanians, especially in Moldavia and Wallachia. The scribes' profile is less known because the writings are short and sometimes belong to codices compiled by different scribes who came from different places. Consequently, these manuscripts (e.g. ms. 3479) are likely to contain many versions of the same text.

The oldest texts patterned after *The Sisinnios Legend* and *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* are certainly written by clergymen. A similar situation was documented in

[112] See Greenfield 1989; Passalis 2014.
[113] *Ibidem*.

Greece, where in the 19th century the Church issued a circular whereby priests who wrote or read such texts were threatened with defrocking.[114]

The scribes are often anonymous, but we can determine their social status on the basis of a different type of texts they wrote or on the information about other authors of codices. More often than not, we infer that they were clergymen. Thus, *The Sisinnios Legend* of ms. 447 (*I*, type A) was written by a scribe who also copied a funeral sermon whereas another scribe of the miscellany was a priest (Alba County). One of the oldest versions of *Avestița* can be found at the close of a Slavonic psalm book (*II*). Another version was written by a hieromonk (ms. 3163); another one was written by a scribe who also copied a wedding sermon (ms. 1439). The involvement of clergymen in disseminating these texts – only occasionally blamed in the monastic milieu by some owners of the manuscripts in question (ms. 3163) – continued well after the 18th century and this phenomenon is typical of this textual tradition. The ethnologists' testimonies have attested it since the latter half of the 19th century, as well: the people who were particularly entrusted the writing of amulets against the proteam female demon were alternately priests and elderly laypersons. Yet they were most notably "priests and monks".[115]

This specialization rests on several features typical of this textual tradition. Many texts are called *exorcism* or *prayer* like the exorcisms approved by the Church. Some relate the fight of a saint with a demon whereas others include enumerative structures meant to chase the demon away. Sometimes the function of the texts interferes with that of some writings traditionally read out by priests. Both *The Sisinnios Legend* and *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* protected the house from demonic attacks. A similar role was played by *Molitva la casa bântuită de diavol* [Exorcism to the house haunted by the demon] constantly transmitted in both printed and manuscript Romanian *Molitvenice* [Euchologia]. Both *The Sisinnios Legend* and *Avestița, the Wing of Satan* even borrow the opening verses of Psalm 67, which are slightly altered; the same psalm was uttered by the priest at private services so as to ensure the protection of people's houses.

The Romanian tradition of the protean demon is also intriguing if we consider its relationship with charms. A certain branch of this tradition is exclusively illustrated by charms (*supra*, IV). Another branch survives thanks to charms as well (*supra*, II, III). Most of the writings are recommended as amulets.

The exceptional variance of the protagonists' names is caused by the variety of sources that underpin the Romanian tradition, by the transmission of the writings in the manuscript form and by oral lore – as exorcisms or charms – and written tradition – as amulets. Due to the variable character of the heroes' names, the Romanian texts are part of the vast tradition of writings about the protean female demon which assigns various names to the malefic being and evinces numerous variants of the good character's names. Thus, Sisinnios is called Sisin(ie) only in ms. 447 and 5492 (*I*, type A and B). The other versions we have studied refer to him as Sisoi(e) or Sison. His

[114] See Patera 2006-2007: 317-318.
[115] See Fochi 1976: 263-264.

brothers' names also vary: Fidor, Isidor, Isiteodor, Minodor, Sidor, Teodor (*I*, type C). The same happens with the names of the saints that help the fever-healer Sisinie: Sokhain, Sacail, Socail, Socoil (*IV*). The demon that kidnapped children is nameless, but the female demon bears at least 19 different names. Of all the protagonists' names, charms have only preserved the name of Samca.[116]

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[116] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-2162. A modified version of this text was published in a Russian monograph on *The Sisinnios Legend*, see Mazilu–Timotin 2017.

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PARADIGMATIC MUSICAL STRUCTURES: AN APPROACH TO THE "CĂLUŞ" RITUAL PERFORMED IN ARGEŞ, ROMANIA

NICOLAE TEODOREANU, MIHAELA NUBERT-CHEŢAN

ABSTRACT

The present study[1] intends to draw up an inventory of minimum melodic structural units, generally called *musical cells*, organized in categories according to their similarity or difference. Therefore, some procedures inspired from structural linguistics will be applied. Thus, several musical cells will be separated and considered paradigms, modelled from all the melodic variants of each musical cell. Basically, we differentiate the main cells from the secondary ones in terms of melodic profile and structural role. The degree of concentration of different paradigms, their "density", is a factor responsible for the variation quantity in both the morphology of a single piece and in the individual repertoires. The melodic variations are very significant because they generate performing styles. These are defined as "stylistic marks" which express individual options or singularizes the *Plimbări* ("Walks") in concordance to a certain performance context.

Keywords: paradigm, musical cell, variation, density, performing style.

Inscribed in 2008 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (originally proclaimed in 2005) the *Căluş* ritual is described as follows:

> Performed in the Olt region of southern Romania, the Căluş ritual dance also formed part of the cultural heritage of the Vlachs of Bulgaria and Serbia. Although the oldest documented music used in this dance dates from the seventeenth century, the ritual probably derived from ancient purification and fertility rites using the symbol of the horse, which was worshipped as an embodiment of the sun. The ritual's name derives from the Căluş, the wooden part of the horse's bridle. The Căluş ritual features a series of games, skits, songs and dances, and was enacted by all-male Căluşari dancers to the accompaniment of two violins and an accordion. Young men used to be initiated into the ritual by a vataf (master) who had inherited the knowledge of descântece (magic charms) and the dance steps from his predecessor. Groups of Căluşari

[1] This study is a revised version of an article previously published by Teodoreanu–Nubert-Cheţan–Potârniche–Şulea 2016: 305-337.

> dancers, sporting colourful hats, embroidered shirts and trousers adorned with small jingling bells, perform complex dances, which combine stamping, clicking of the heels, leaping and swinging of the legs. According to tradition, groups of dancing and chanting Căluşari, who were thought to be endowed with magical healing powers, went from house to house, promising good health and prosperity to villagers. Until today, Căluşari meet to celebrate their dancing and musical prowess on Whit Sunday[2].

We should also mention that the *Căluş* ritual is present on a larger area in the south of Romania. The renowned scholar Constantin Brăiloiu selected a group from Muntenia (Pădureţi, Argeş County) to represent Romania in an important festival where the Folklore Archive was invited by the English Folk Dance and Song Society, in 1935.

The beginning of research interest for this ritual was marked by Constantin Brăiloiu's recording of the musical repertoire, in London, in 1935[3]. Two decades later, the ethno-choreologist Vera Proca completed the first collection of the dance in Pădureţi, also recording the violin melodies on magnetic tape[4]. The topic was later approached by Anca Giurchescu, the ethno-choreologist who recorded musical pieces during *direct observation or re-enactment* of the ritual in villages Stolnici, Hârseşti, Zorile, Cornăţel, Ungheni, Pădureţi, Fălfani and Mozăceni (in Argeş County), between 1972 and 1973[5]. Subsequently, the author drew up a classification which shows a unitary structure of the dance cycle all over Argeş and Olt Counties: a) *specific Căluşar dances*, compatible with the ritual circumstance, represented by a "variable number of *moves* which could be considered structural units individualized with names and marked by introduction and end, as well as a variable number of *walks*, b) dances also performed in other contexts, such as the village *hora*[6], weddings, etc., represented by *Căluş Hora* and *Căluş Sârba*, being played at the end, and c) free dances, performed when the host requires them, *Tărăşelul, Alunelul, Amploieţii, Băluţa,* etc."[7].

The Ethnomusicological Study of Căluş Dances (Project no 3 – National Folklore Collection) became part of the research plan of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" and the research team (ethnomusicologists Mihaela Nubert-Cheţan, Nicolae Teodoreanu, Raluca Potârniche and Elena Şulea) selected a number of 200 pieces belonging to the *actual Căluşar dances:* 144 *Moves* and 56 *Walks*, the latter category being the sample used for the present study.

The *Căluş* series is formed by these two categories[8], having diametrically opposed choreographic structure. The *Moves* are organized in three fixed parts,

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[2] UNESCO Intangible cultural heritage 2008 https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/calus-ritual-00090.

[3] Disc no 545 in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, A.I.E.F.

[4] A.I.E.F., mg. 600 a-s.

[5] A.I.E.F., mg. 4455-4459.

[6] Traditional dances (such as *hora, sârba,* etc.) performed on Sundays by the young people in the village.

[7] Giurchescu 2009: 79-81.

[8] Example: *Plimbare – Mişcare "Cinci bătăi" – Plimbare – Mişcare-"Oglinda" – Plimbare* [Walk-Movement "Five moves" – Walk – Movement – "The Mirror" – Walk].

being separate dances of high physical intensity, while the *Walks* have a free, simple and repetitive structure, the compositional principle being based on the identical or varied succession of its kinetic units[9]. The leader (master) of the group from Pădureţi, recorded by both Vera Proca and Anca Giurchescu, explained: "The Walk starts with a free step. We walk in circles. This is how I know it. The walk helps the *căluşar* to recover themselves"[10].

FOLKLORE VARIABILITY – STARTING POINT FOR PARADIGMATIC MODELLING

Structural linguistics applied to musical analysis

Using the methods of structural linguistics for musical analysis means adjusting some concepts and strategies to match the specificity of the musical language. The linguistic models have been applied to musical research before, yet it is not the theoretical approach that is the main interest of the present study, but the linguistics' possible practical uses for musical analysis.

In this context, we would like to mention researchers Simha Arom and Frank Alvarez-Péreyre who resorted to five concepts taken from this vast domain for describing polyphonic and polyrhythmic techniques in Central Africa: 1) reference unit, 2) segmentation, 3) paradigmatic classes, 4) commutation, 5) classes of equivalence. Therefore, the basic unit (1) which corresponds to the *phonemes* in spoken language, represents the smallest melodic signal, the pitch, organized on musical scale. The segmentation (2), which structures the morphemes in the verbal language, is an important phase as the continuous musical discourse is cut out in minimum formal units, following the similar/different criterion. The paradigmatic classes (3) allow the musical elements to be grouped, as these can be interchangeable in the same context. For Arom, commutation (4) represents the practical checking of equivalence and the ability of one element to substitute another in the same paradigmatic class. Also, the equivalence classes (5) show the relation based on a cultural equivalence assessment[11].

For our present study, segmentation (2) and grouping into paradigmatic classes (3) are of outmost importance, while the relevant distinctive unit (1) is included in the segmentation, and commutation (4) and equivalence (5) could be only theoretically involved because they would need to be checked with the informants, which is impossible for the present research.

Anyhow, the use of linguistic terminology and methodology might not be justified if research remained at the "paradigmatic" level, where classical music terminology is sufficient. The advantages of such terminology will be visible only

[9] Giurchescu 2009:81-82.

[10] A.I.E.F. no 31255, informant Stan Grigore, from Pădureţi, Argeş, ethnomusicologist, Anca Giurchescu, Bucureşti, 10.12.1969.

[11] Arom–Alvarez-Péreyre 2007: 71-73.

after combining the paradigmatic principle with the syntagmatic one, as part of a musical "generative grammar". Following the same line, C.D. Georgescu (an outstanding ethnomusicologist, specialized in Romanian traditional dance) makes a difference between the "catalogue" or musical "vocabulary", i.e. the "paradigmatic axis", defined at cellular, motifs' or phrases' level, and the musical "grammar", the "syntagmatic axis", which is in charge of the rules governing the match of different constituents based on the compatibilities dictated by a series of preferential contacts. The two levels are joined as a "compositional algorithm", representing the foundation for a "generative grammar" of dance music[12].

Folkloric variability and musical prototype

The study of the paradigmatic aspect of folk music inevitably leads to a central ethnomusicological topic, namely the variability. Yet, it does not entirely overlap it. Whether the variants of a musical structure could be naturally included in the same paradigmatic class, as they are interchangeable, there could also be – at least in theory – different yet interchangeable musical structures, therefore placed in a relation of synonymy. However, according to the studied repertory, different melodic profiles seem to have here different functional (syntactic) roles which allowed us to use variation for including them into the same paradigmatic class. For music, it is still valid S. Arom's idea regarding the paradigmatic analysis which means "vertically grouping units which seem to have common characteristics"[13].

For folk melodies, variability is not a "technique" for processing a given fix pattern, as in classical theme with variations, but the very folk creation mechanism, as Constantin Brăiloiu also stated, quoting Béla Bartók and László Lajtha[14]. Far from being an "accessory", for the Romanian ethnomusicologist, variability is "one of the most significant and typical features of folk melodies", as a folk melody is a living organism, constantly changing[15].

Such approach has massive consequences on the study of folk variants, as it declines the difference between the original folk item and its "copies", inevitably more or less satisfactorily made. The musical prototype, the variation "theme" does not belong to the concrete reality but works as an abstract model stored in the collective psychological fund, therefore: "A défant de tout texte irrécusable, force nous est d'admettre que nous ne recueillons jamais que des variants et que, dans l'esprit des chanteurs, vit, d'une vie latent, un archetype, don't ils nous offrent des incarnations éphémères"[16]. Similarly, Emilia Comişel shows that all musical variants seem to come from a unique melodic model, not given, and to be generated by individual performing characteristics[17].

[12] Georgescu 1984: 30, 70.
[13] Arom–Alvarez-Péreyre 2007: 73.
[14] Brăiloiu 1969: 37.
[15] Brăiloiu 1969: 101.
[16] Brăiloiu 1969: 37.
[17] Comişel 1992: 68.

In order to highlight folklore variability in a practical manner, Brăiloiu created a transcribing method meant to grasp the variational processes within a vocal strophic piece, with multiple repetitions: the "synoptic" transcription: "La mèlodie [...]est ècrite toute entière sur la première portée. Aux répétitions, lorsque la ligne mélodique demeure intacte, on n'a transcrit que le texte, de manière à faire tomber chaque syllabe exactement sous le son qui lui correspond; lorsque elle varie on a noté les variations sous la formule mélodique initiale; les variations rythmiques sont indiquées, chacune a sa place, par les seuls signes de durée"[18]. Therefore, the melodic structure becomes obvious, an essential aspect when investigating musical paradigms.

There are many types of variational techniques, yet there are two main variation groups: "ornamental" and "structural", also mentioned by Brăiloiu when referring to the laments in Drăguş village, for the former type, and the one in Oaş County, for the latter one[19]. The former, the variation proper, carries certain "ornamental" changes, especially rhythmic or melodic, at the level of one fixed melodic unit, while the latter carries the flexible articulation of melodic units. Both variational aspects are significant for our study, the former being used for the paradigmatic analysis, and the latter for the syntagmatic one. The present study will be focused on the former aspect.

Defining the folklore prototype – selection of a model

Although we cannot talk about "original" and "copies" in folk music, out of practical reasons, for grouping the melodic structures in paradigmatic classes, it is necessary for the related musical pieces to refer to a melodic model or pattern, to a first item. As Corneliu Dan Georgescu mentioned, there are two ways to identify it: 1) from the set of variants one that is considered a model, a pattern for the rest is selected, 2) an abstract prototype is extracted, as a synthesis of all variants. In obtaining this, let us call it *archetype*, that Brăiloiu considered "les piliers de sa charpente ne seront pas touchés par l'improvisation, alors qu'elle se donnera libre cours là ou elle n'altère aucun des traits qui rendent le modèle abstrait reconnaisable"[20] Simha Arom and Frank Alvarez-Péreyre call this procedure *modelling* and is complementary to *validating*, checking it within the cultural context it comes from.

For these ethnomusicologists, the model is a musical "theme" which does not appear in itself, but which functions as a purifying synthetic diagram, a sort of implicit musical matrix, a watermark without any ornaments, any variation:

> "Celle-ci, qui se présente comme une épure, peut être considérée, en théorie, comme le «degré zéro» de la variation. Dans la pratique, cependant, il lui arrive de se

[18] Brăiloiu 1979: 64.
[19] Brăiloiu 1969:107-109.
[20] Brăiloiu 1969: 108.

> manifester parmi les autres réalisations, au même titre qu'elles. Cette matrice constitue l'ultime référence mentale – le *modèle* – que chaque musicien a en tête et à partir de laquelle il est à même d'exécuter tel morceau monodique – ou telle partie d'une musique polyphonique. Modéliser équivaut ici à faire émerger, au niveau d'une pièce ou d'un ensemble cohérent de pièces, les matrices à partir desquelles procèdent les variations"[21].

For our study, we are going to use the first possibility mentioned by Corneliu Dan Georgescu. This means to choose one hypostasis (without its ornaments) and indicate it as the reference point. Yet, this has to be representative, meaning to have all the essential elements present in all the other variants, and as simple as possible. Therefore, the models chosen could show simpler, elementary forms, especially for those structures with less variants, and could be used as epures in a real process of modelling.

However, for a more thorough description of each set of variants or each paradigmatic class, we will resort to a certain type of "modelling" the melodic profile, shaped by melodic trajectories and "frames", and created not through a melodic chain, but as a synthetic diagram. Such example we can find in the guide for the analysis of the musical style belonging to Jan LaRue, who identifies four types of melodic lines: ascendant, descendant, linear, wave form (zig-zagged). These abstract lines, grouped, show more types of melodic profiles, which could be represented by simple graphs and labelled with letters[22].

A similar procedure, yet with more details, is described by Ilona Szenik and Lucia Iştoc (two ethnomusicologists from Cluj) when presenting a method of classifying folk vocal melodies. The melodic profile could be described as a line connecting three points: beginning, peak, end, thus obtaining five categories: ascendant, descendant, curved (having the peak in the middle), concave (with a negative maximum), unilinear. These categories could combine with each other to result in more complex configurations[23].

The same study offers us some linguistic suggestions: elements having similar profiles but different meanings could be defined as *structural homonyms*, while elements with different outlines, but similar meanings, interchangeable, would be *structural synonyms*[24]. Both structural synonyms and structural homonyms belong to different paradigmatic classes, the former having different melodic outlines, while the latter have similar or identical melodic profiles. The musical material studied next will offer a few situations which could be better clarified by integrating these two structural principles.

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[21] Arom–Alvarez-Péreyre 1995:74.

[22] LaRue 1970: 85.

[23] In a different study, Ilona Szenik also talks about the half movement, referring to the "semi-arched profile" (1968: 110).

[24] Szenik–Iştoc 1987: 311-313.

MUSICAL CELL, ARCHETYPAL MODEL AND CONCRETE FORMS

Criteria for identifying and differentiating paradigms

The main challenge for our study is to identify and differentiate the musical paradigms. Music – a non-verbal language – does not use well-defined and clearly marked vocables, like the verbal language. Also, music, and we mean folk music, is made up of melodic segments which could be spotted and separated one from the other on some quasi-objective criteria. They are characterised by their own rhythmical-melodic profiles, easy to recognise[25]. The melody can be rearranged and they can be articulated in bigger musical structures. The melodic units are categorised following two types of criteria: 1) quantitative, after their dimension, from the smallest musical units to the biggest ones, and 2) qualitative, after the intrinsic musical content, being considered the relations of affinity and opposition between segments.

According to the first criterion, most of the Romanian ethnomusicologists interested in folk dance music tend to consider the unit with one main beat (with one bar) as the minimum structural unit. For Emilia Comişel, "the simplest unit of the melody is the cell" [26], opinion also shared by Corneliu Dan Georgescu in his substantial study dedicated to improvisation in folk dance music[27], although at the beginning, he tended to favour the *motif*, maybe under the influence of western school of thought[28].

According to the qualitative criterion and considering some elements of the theory belonging to the musicologist and linguist Nicolas Ruwet, the units of the musical language can have three types of relations with each other: 1) identity or repetition (A=A), 2) contrast (A≠B), 3) variation (A≈A')[29]. The third type of relations could cause some uncertain situations, as it is very difficult to set the limit beyond which the similar becomes different. In his analyses, C.D. Georgescu distinguishes between small variations, marked by apostrophes (A', A''), and big variations, marked with figures (A1, A2)[30]. This method will also be used in the present study.

Therefore, the quantitative delimitation of the musical cells, whose extension is usually a bar, is followed by their identification, through observing their content relations. Thus, at the level of a piece, or even of a whole repertory – as we intend

[25] Only exceptionally, such melodic formulas could have implied verbal or emotional meaning, such as the percussive parts in the African or Oceanian "drum languages" or the Baroque *rhetorical melodic figures*.

[26] Comişel 1965: 401.

[27] Georgescu 1995: 65.

[28] Georgescu 1968: 17-18.

[29] Ruwet 1966: 74-75.

[30] Georgescu 1995: 65.

to do for *The Walks* in *Căluş* performed in Argeş –, a well-defined index of generic cells will be set, their variants being derivatives. Certainly, there are no absolute generic cells, as we have shown above. Anyhow, from a set of related examples we will choose one as the reference cell, a simpler one, but not necessarily the most frequent one. The unequivocal identification of the generic cells as distinct paradigms cannot hide sometimes a certain subtle relation between paradigms or between some of their variants. This connection is noticeable at the sub-cellular level, where we can identify identical sub-cells in different cells. Such filiations between different paradigms could lead us to believe that during the process of crystalizing, different hypostases might have come from common types which got detached because of variation.

The cells will be identified not "upward", as it happens in the process of classifying the melodic hypostases, but "downward", starting from the intuitive configuration of some distinctive melodic types, whose variants must be further found. In the end, we obtain a list of generic cells, and for each of them a list of melodic variants which represent the paradigmatic axis.

More precisely, they are identified at the melodic level because of the following aspects: the melodic skeleton, rhythmic distribution, register, ambitus, cadences, in two words: *melodic* contour. In certain situations, the register criterion must be omitted, when a melodic contour remains constant but is transposed to a different pitch (therefore, to a different register), through a modulation process (metabola), situation in which we will consider the transposed cell as a variant for the reference cell. We will come back to this aspect.

Together with considering a cell as the reference point, we will also briefly describe the melodic contour as a synthetic diagram, a *epure*[31], combining Jan LaRue's suggestions[32] with those belonging to the researchers in Cluj[33]. Therefore, the melodic profile could be: ascendant (A), descendant (D), high-pitched or low-pitched linear (L), arched (B), concave (C), waveform ascendant (Z), waveform descendent (W) [34]. These can be bigger or smaller than a fourth. For the latter, we will add – with the exception of the linear melodic type – the prefix "semi" (semi-ascendant, semi-arched, etc.) and we will label it with a small letter. Similarly, for the high-pitched linear contour we will keep the capital letter, while for the low-pitched one, we will use the small letter. These profiles can combine with each other in order to obtain more extended melodic drawings. The arched and concave shapes have a relative melodic and rhythmic symmetry. If they do not have it, they will be described as a combination between two movements: ascendant and descendant. Below, there are all these basic profiles:

[31] Arom–Alvarez-Péreyre 1995: 74.
[32] LaRue: 85.
[33] Szenik–Iştoc 1987: 311-313.
[34] LaRue calls the zig-zagged profiles, *waveforms*.

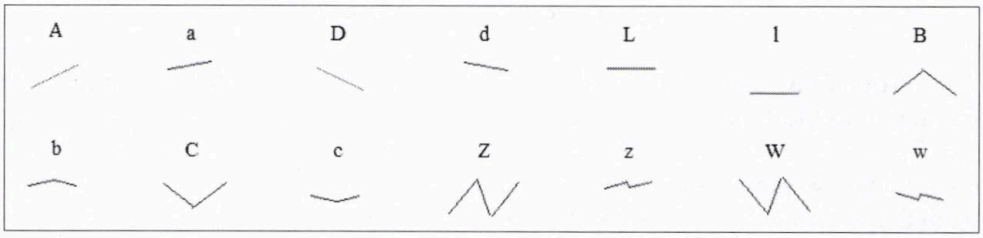

Fig. 1 – Basic melodic profiles.

A totally different type of criterion involved in identifying the generic cells is the *functional* one (tangential to the syntagmatic aspect but it does not represent the topic of our present study), which leads to the following situations:

1. *Structural homonymy*, when a unique melodic contour could fall into two different paradigms which can be told apart only considering their different functional situation: one of the paradigms, or one of its variants is always at the beginning of a musical segment, while the latter usually finishes a musical structure.

2. *Structural synonymy*, when two different paradigms behave similarly from the functional point of view. It is important to mention that while in linguistics synonyms and homonyms are semantically defined, in music they are syntactically defined.

3. *Syntactical ambivalence*, when similar profiles, belonging to the same paradigmatic class, behave as if they were in different paradigms. They are different only because of their final sounds, which decisively reshape the musical structure, functioning as divergent "punctuation marks". We will come back to these situations giving concrete examples.

Cataloguing the paradigms

For a detailed analysis we had to put together a general standardized catalogue of all the musical cells encountered. Therefore, we have identified several *cell models*, as *paradigms*, selected from the set of variants, which could be described as an abstract melodic profile, as a *epure*. We have labelled them with Greek letters. As shown before, we could identify two degrees of variation: small, "ornamental" type, and big, "significant". At the level of the paradigmatic classes, the cells, the variations are purportedly rather small, therefore, being marked with apostrophe. At this level there are no big variations, with one exception: one of the cells has two different significant hypostases, where the latter is different from the former not only in its melodic contour, but especially in its functional ending role. These two variants will have an identification number next to the Greek letter.

Later, we identified *all* melodic version of each generic cell found in *all* the melodies, mentioning the piece of origin. Thus, we have a general index of all melodic variants of each musical cell which represent the complete set of *paradigmatic classes* of the repertoire analysed.

SPECIFIC PARADIGMATIC SETS

After fully transcribing and analysing a number of 56 pieces called *Walks*, belonging to the *Căluş* ritual performed in Argeş, a list of generic cells was drawn up. The musical notations were made applying the *synthetic* transcription method – combining the intonational structure with the particularities of performing act –, named *phonemic transcription* by Oskár Elschek[35]. This type of transcription grasps both the details of each performance, indispensable to the variations analysis, and the melody profile, necessary for identifying the *epures*. In the process of highlighting the prototypes, this systematizing model can be detailed through analytical approaches which would also cover considerations on the symmetry/asymmetry of the forming sub-cells.

In order to separate the paradigms as morphological units of musical discourse, we used the norm of the melodic contour related to the functional criterion, aspects which are defining in most of the cases. In certain circumstances, they could lead to ambiguities at the level of setting generic cells as reference frames. In order to systematize the paradigmatic classes within the standardized general catalogue, two criteria were included: the representativeness of the generic cells within the general repertoire, and an auxiliary criterion, the melodic system. After following these two criteria, we classified the cells into two classes: main and secondary.

Main cell models

Two main cells stood out, **α** (*alfa)* and **β** (*beta)*. They were the most frequent musical units in the analysed pieces. The stratifying role of occurrences was highlighted by **α**'s and **β**'s potential to form the *Walks* by themselves. Moreover, it is obvious their capacity to coagulate the architecture of the pieces with a greater complexity (the structures with "refrain" made of **α** and **β**). The next phase of our analysis showed the function of the profiles, the *epures*, in configurating the melodic system characteristic to the beginning of the *Walks*, namely the chromatic pentachord $\mathbf{A^1}$ - $\mathbf{E^2}$, area which cover both musical units. This stage of the analysis could explain possible correspondences between the pentachord and the concept of *modal fifth degree,* as a type of systemic functionalism supported by the functional specialization of the two poles of the fifth. In the present context, the melodic contours of the two cells prove the existence of some centres: a "tonic", sound **A**, and a "dominant", sound **E**, nodal points in the process of articulating the musical discourse. The dominant-tonic relation, generally present at the level of the entire repertoire of the *Walks*, could be explained, at a first glance as being a deviation towards tonality, also suggested by the arpeggio. However, the presence of the melodic formulas which contain the greater second subordinates the pentachord to a well-defined modal dimension.

[35] Elschek–Michel–Porter–Stockmann 1997: 17.

α is a cell with symmetric structure (intonationally identical sub-cells), with a strong character imposed by the waveform profile on $\mathbf{A^1}$ - $\mathbf{E^2}$ (Z) fifth similar to a "țiitură", a rhythmical-melodic formula used by the fiddlers in Muntenia. A special situation is represented by a linear profile on the sound $\mathbf{A^1}$, which could be included in two different paradigms, a clear case of *structural homonymy* (with the secondary cell **ε**). It seems that the function explains the difference: its position exclusively at the beginning, in a bigger section.
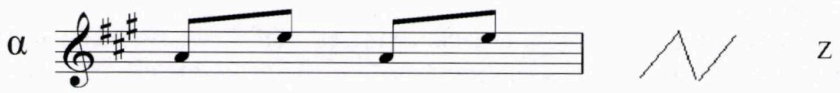
Fig. 2 – Generic cell **α**.

β is a cell with asymmetric structure (intonationally different sub-cells), with concave profile (C), with an arpeggio $\mathbf{C^2}$-$\mathbf{A^1}$-$\mathbf{C^2}$-$\mathbf{E^2}$. Considered to be originally instrumental, the "arpeggio" is the exponent of the scale of dance melodies in Oltenia[36]. **β** has a type of *syntactic ambivalence*, as this unique mark embodies more morphological hypostases with syntactic implications expressed by the final sounds: $\mathbf{E^2}$, $\mathbf{A^1}$, $\mathbf{E^1}$. The result of the processes on the syntagmatic axis configures the significant degrees of these variants marked with an identification number: **β1**, (desinence on $\mathbf{E^2}$, $\mathbf{A^1}$) and **β2**, (desinence on $\mathbf{E^1}$, with ending role). In this case, we must emphasise the importance of playing the inferior fourth, without intermediary sounds.
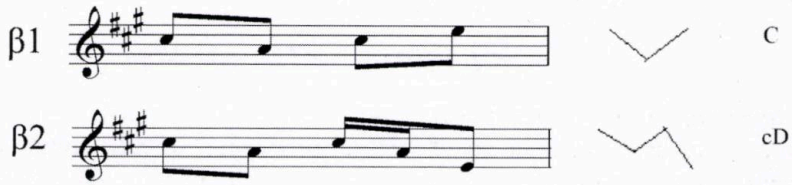
Fig. 3 – Generic cell **β** with both forms.

Secondary cells

Related to the main ones, a part of the secondary cells amplifies the musical discourse in the high-pitched register, offering more expressivity and melodic and modal diversity. Therefore, the pentachord is expanded up to $\mathbf{A^1}$ octave forming a mode specific to Muntenia and Oltenia[37], (Mixolydian with the augmented second between I-II and fourth raised between I-IV)[38].

[36] Georgescu 1968: 17.
[37] Oprea–Agapie 1983: 130.
[38] Georgescu 1968: 62.

The second important aspect is represented by the modulatory inflections produced by the metabolas.

Symmetrical secondary cells

γ *(gama)* and **δ** *(delta)* belong to equivalent classes: both generic cells are symmetrical, the waveform profiles are inverted, (**γ** – W, **δ** – Z), the modal centres marked, according to the scheme dominant – **γ**, tonic – **δ**. In this phase of the analysis, we can notice the variations' potential to change the symmetric structures into asymmetric ones.

We would like to mention especially the case of **δ**, whose metamorphose at the level of the last sub-cell sometimes made difficult its identifying and placing into the same paradigmatic class. The hypostases of the final sound, on $\mathbf{E}^2$ and $\mathbf{A}^2$, show a higher level of syntactic flexibility. In this case, as well as in the case of cell **β**, the desinences seem to give a *syntactic ambivalence* produced by the functional scheme of the "dominant" and the "tonic".

We will not insist upon the syntactic valences generated by the final sound, these will be tangentially analysed when referring to the matter of variants as referential vectors in individual and general repertoire.
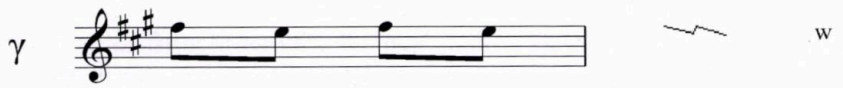
Fig. 4 – Generic cell **γ**.
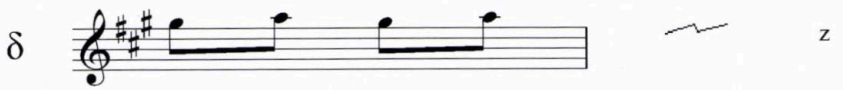
Fig. 5 – Generic cell **δ**.

ε *(epsilon)*, through its linear *epure* could create difficulties in being considered a musical cell in itself. More precisely, it has some structural particularities belonging to the fiddlers' melodies, namely the ending formulas of phrases. Characterised by these *stereotypes*, identified and classified by Gheorghe Ciobanu[39], **ε** emphasizes the role of the tonic note (there are also exceptions, certain variants opt for emphasising the relation between the dominant and the tonic). We noticed that cell **ε** could be mistaken – if the melodic profile is not considered – with one of the variants of cell **α**, which has a similar profile, thus leading us to a relevant example of *structural homonymy*.
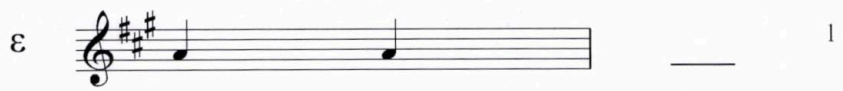
Fig. 6 – Generic cell **ε**.

[39] Ciobanu 1969: 111.

Asymmetric secondary cells

ζ *(zeta)* is a cell made up of two different sub-cells, with a minimal ascendant profile (a). The special print of this paradigm in the musical discourse is highlighted by the transposition. The melodic contour is maintained, metabola – which will be further analysed – does not influence the distribution of the constitutive sounds.
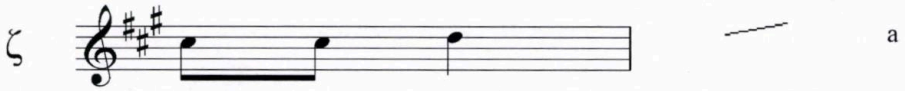
Fig. 7 – Generic cell **ζ**.

The traditional musical practice, which regulates the alteration of some sounds according to the ascendant meaning of the melodic line, is also visible in this case. The succession with $\mathbf{E}^2$, as final sound, leads to playing $\mathbf{D\#}^2$ (a situation similar to certain hypostases of cell **β**), characteristic to the pieces performed by Dură Ştefan and Pîrvu Florea.
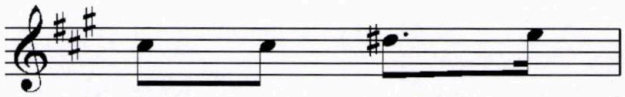
Fig. 8 – Ascendant alteration of $\mathbf{D\#}^2$ in cell **ζ**.

η *(eta)* is a cell with semi-arched profile (b). Within it the convergence of the sounds around sound **B** shapes a predominantly minor scale. In extended hypostases, when the sound $\mathbf{F\#}^2$ is reached, **η** seems to behave like a "systemic metabola", the pentachord $\mathbf{B}^1\text{-}\mathbf{F\#}^2$ is produced by the transposition to a whole step of the pentachord $\mathbf{A}^1\text{-}\mathbf{E}^2$ (produced by **α** and **β**).
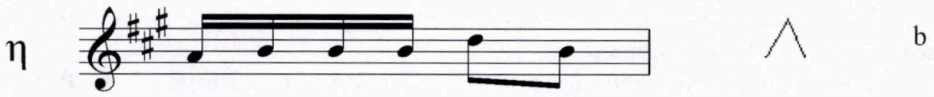
Fig. 9 – Generic cell **η**.

θ *(theta)* is a paradigm with combined profile (zc). **θ** has the characteristics of the cimbalom's "ţiitură" in a folk group. The relevant example for this type of relation can be found in the songs analysed by Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Cânt-o păsărică-n crâng* (*A Birdie is Singing in the Grove*)[40].
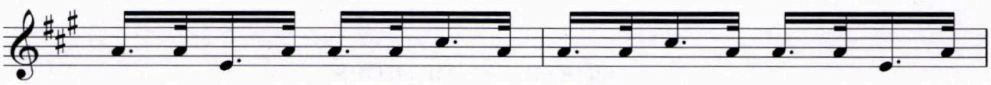
Fig. 10 – Example no 71 in the annex of the volume *Lăutarii din Clejani* [Fiddlers from Clejani].

[40] Ciobanu 1969: 110.

θ emphasises the dominant-tonic oscillation corresponding to the main cell **α.** Because of its structural position, it seems an equivalent of cell **α,** with its own profile, being a typical example of *structural synonymy.*
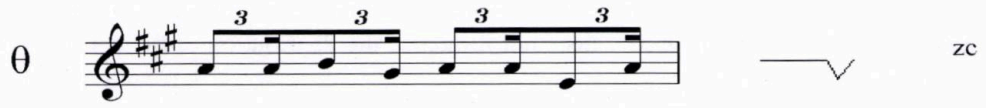
Fig. 11 – Generic cell **θ**.

ι *(iota)* is a combined epure (Ad). Examining the constitutive methods, we notice the forming of this new paradigm by the synthesis of different sub-cells. The first such sub-cell is similar to the components of cell **β**, and the second one is similar to the first sub-cell of paradigm **γ**.
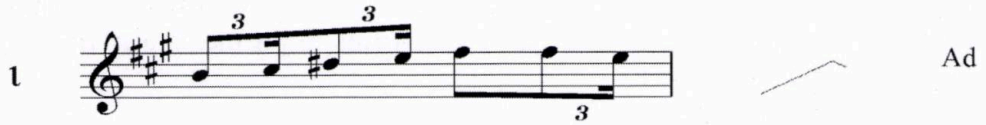
Fig. 12 – Generic cell **ι**.

κ *(kappa)*, also a combined *epure* (aD), is an exception: it contains three sub-cells (cell with three beats) and is formed on the sequences of the descendent third, the final sound being the dominant $\mathbf{E}^2$.
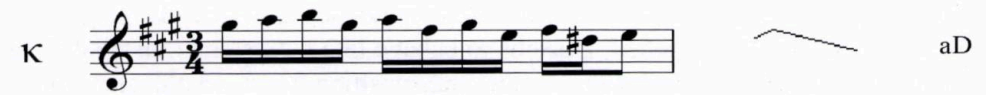
Fig. 13 – Generic cell **κ**.

As a consequence of more complex ways of structuring in the last set of profiles, we can find combined *epures*.

Symmetrical constructions: **γ**, **δ**, **ε**, and asymmetrical ones: **ζ**, **η**, **θ**, **ι** şi **κ**, seem to be in a certain quantitative balance, the paradigmatic sets being numerically comparable. A similar correspondence could be detected at the profiles level: the ascendant ones are proportionate to the descendant ones. Yet, a prospective look at their distribution in the musical repertoires indicates the disproportion in the favour of the symmetrical cells (for example, the asymmetrical cells **ι** and **κ** appear only in the pieces played by one fiddler). These aspects validate the traditional interpretative styles.

VARIATIONAL METHODS

Most of the variational methods we are referring to could be considered "ornamental" and are inspired from the treatises on classic harmony and, mainly,

from Cristina Rădulescu Paşcu's studies on folk music ornaments[41]. Unlike the vocal pieces – studied by the researcher mentioned before –, which are monodic and included in one of the folk music rhythmic systems[42], Căluş repertoire has a modal structure diverted towards tonal harmony[43], and is included in a classic binary metre. This is decisive for discovering the ornaments not only in the melodic context but also in the harmonic one. All the paradigms encountered have "strong" inflexible points, which give coherence, and "weak" variable points, which give flexibility.

We notice that the number of the melodic variants under each paradigm, for the 56 pieces studied, is extremely high, for the more "common" ones, reaching a few tens: **α** – 56, **β** (**β1** – 75, **β2** – 33), **γ** – 12, **δ** – 25, **ε** – 31, **ζ** – 11, **η** – 8, **θ** – 2, **ι** – 2, **κ** – 2. However, a closer look will have to distil these variants, obtained after extremely detailed transcriptions. Firstly, should be put aside the so-called variations given by the imperfection of the performance (errors, sour notes, "hiccups"), only if they are noticeable, as between the musical *intention* and its *execution* there is always some distance. Moreover, the mordentes or embroideries (actual ornaments) will be observed but they will not impose *new* variants by themselves yet having an insignificant variational role. Not least, we will exclude from the set of variants those atypical melodies, final melodic *stereotypes*[44], with unusual melodic details, often appearing at a sub-cellular level, or even as only one sound.

Generally speaking, we will encounter more methods, grouped in five types: 1) rhythmical (subdivision of a value, adding values, passing from binary subdivision to ternary subdivision, rhythmical change, diminishing, augmentation), 2) harmonic (inserting, elimination of or substitution of chord pitches), 3) melodic notes on strong beats or parts of strong beats (appoggiaturas), 4) melodic notes on weak beats or parts of weak beats (passages, embroideries, échapées, anticipations), 5) modulations (metabolas). We will add to these techniques the ornaments proper, short appoggiaturas and mordentes with reduced variational role, usually marked with diacritical musical signs (stenographic)[45]. We can definitely encounter these variational techniques by themselves, in a pure form, yet they usually appear combined. We will choose from the numerous examples a few which are representative for each type or for their combinations.

Sub-dividing a value

The first method is almost "unnoticed", the big values of the hypothetical generic cell are divided into smaller values:

[41] Rădulescu-Paşcu 1998.
[42] Brăiloiu 1969: 65.
[43] Gerogescu 1995: 42-43.
[44] Ciobanu 1969: 111.
[45] Rădulescu Paşcu 1998: 57.
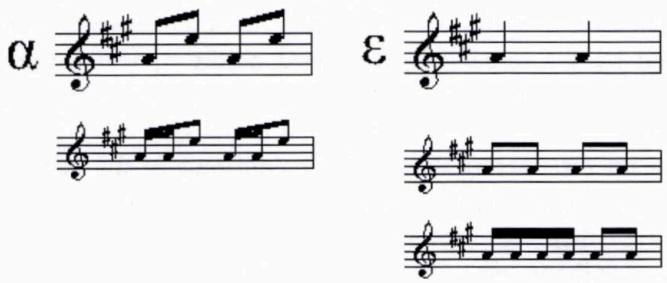
Fig. 14 – Value sub-division.

Cumulating values

Conversely, the values are accumulated into greater ones:
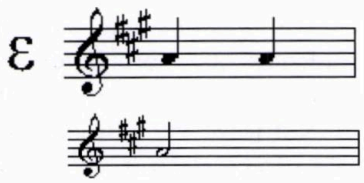
Fig. 15 – Cumulating values.

Turning into ternary sub-division

The so-called ternary that we encounter in certain cases and is characteristic to some fiddlers, is characterised by an *expressive stressing* of the strong beats of the cells, not being a real ternary division, which would have required the triplets. In the given examples, cell **α** is subdivided in ternary values, cell **β2** has some *passages* distributed in ternary division, cell **δ** contains a few *anticipations* (these two methods will be discussed below), while cell **κ** transposes all the sounds into ternary.
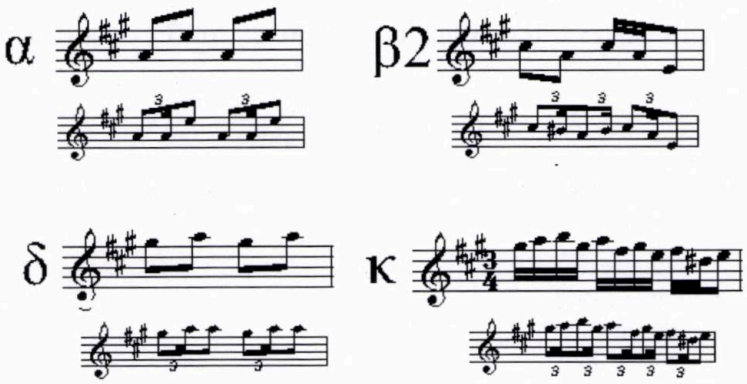
Fig. 16 – Turning into ternary.

Rhythmical changes

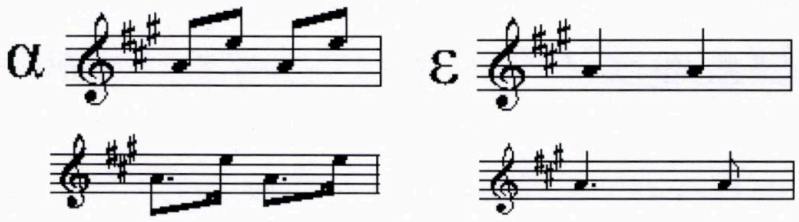

Fig. 17 – Rhythmical changes.

Diminishing

In the following example, the quavers are proportionally diminished into semiquavers, while in the interval which remains free new sounds appear:
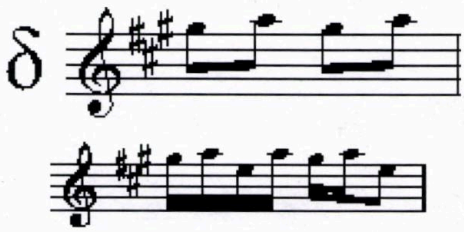
Fig. 18 – Diminishing

Arpeggios

In both situations presented below, because of a rhythmical subdivision, new sounds are inserted, building tonic arpeggios.
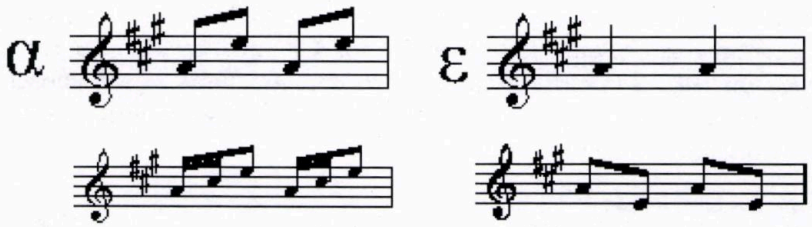
Fig. 19 – Arpeggios.

Sounds elimination

The next two situations, related to cells **α** and **β1,** suggest a certain technical "problem", while in the third case, the cell is produced by eliminating the first sound (or, more precisely, by replacing it with short appoggiaturas).
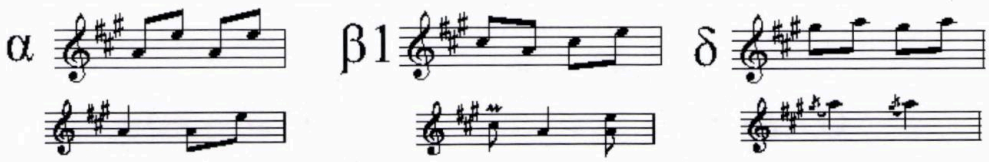
Fig. 20 – Sounds elimination.

Sounds substitution

In the following cases, one sound is replaced by another in the arpeggio, obviously in the first and the last example. The replacement of **G#**^{2} with **B#**^{2} in cell **δ,** leads to the replacement of **A**^{2} cu **C#**^{3}, which induces the transposition of the second sub-cell, thus being a similar situation with the *metabola*, analysed next. Quite obvious is the substitution of the first note, unlike the last one, also within **δ,** because the first one has an impact on a strong beat, which makes the variant obtained seem rather different, yet not different enough to be considered a new paradigm:
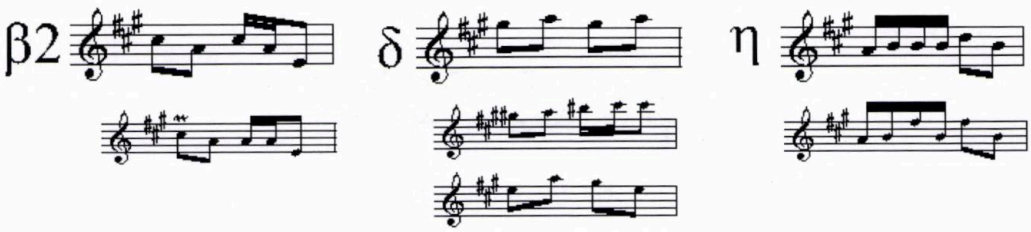
Fig. 21 – Sounds substitution.

Appoggiatura

The first examples, given for cell **α,** show two types of appoggiaturas: as ornament and as melodic note, both inferior, on **G#**^{1} for **A**^{1}. For **β1** there are two appoggiaturas as melodic notes: on **D**^{2} for **C#**^{2} and on **B**^{1} also for **C#**^{2}, plus a *passage* on **D#**^{2}. Similarly, there are two appoggiaturas in the chosen variant **γ**, the first on **G**^{2} for **F#**^{2}, the second on **F#**^{2} (which also benefits from an inferior, anterior ornamental appoggiatura) for **E**^{2}:
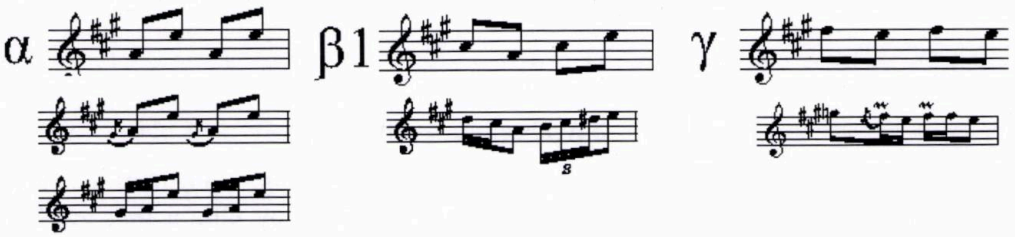
Fig. 22 – Appoggiatura.

Passage

Next, there are two examples with several *passages*, the former between the arpeggio notes which represents cell **β1**, the latter, similar, but ternary, has one more *passage* note on **F#²**, which makes the connection with the next cell, usually **γ**, in the variant starting on **G²**:
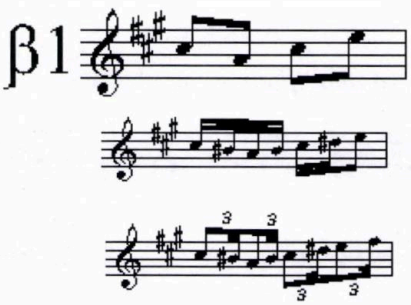
Fig. 23 – Passage.

Embroidery

Next, there are two types of embroidery, as ornaments and as melodic notes. Firstly, in the example for **β1**, one can notice a mordent on **C#²**, then a superior embroidery on the same note, which illustrates more an execution technique, than a real difference. It is worth mentioning the embroideries of cell **η**, both superior, placed on the strong sixteenths of the cell, everything combined with replacing **D²** with **F#²**:
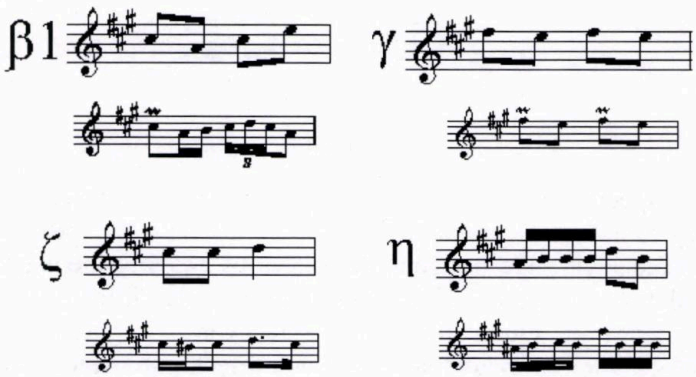
Fig. 24 – Embroidery.

Échapée

Here are a few situations with échapées (combined with other techniques): in **β2** on **D#¹**, in **γ** on **D#²**, and in **ζ** on **E²**, the last note:
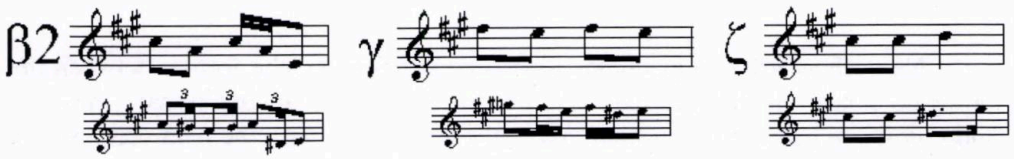
Fig. 25 – Échapée.

Anticipation

The next examples of *anticipations* are obvious:
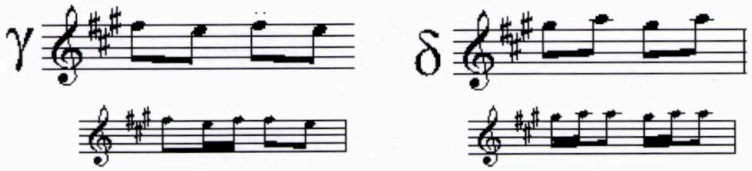
Fig. 26 – Anticipation.

Combination of techniques

Although there are rare situations of single ornaments, there are cases of multiple combinations. Hence, $\mathbf{G}^2$ is appoggiatura for $\mathbf{F\#}^2$, $\mathbf{F\#}^2$ is for $\mathbf{E}^2$ (a situation already considered), and also an *anticipation* on $\mathbf{E}^2$ and a *passage* note on $\mathbf{D\#}^2$ by a $\mathbf{C\#}^2$:
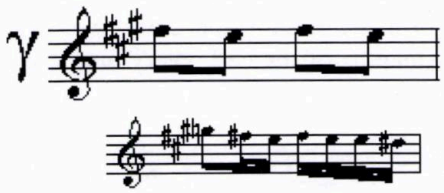
Fig. 27 – Combination of techniques.

Metabola

This is a special variational technique, described by Constantin Brăiloiu as a "change of system"[46], a technique somehow related with the transposition which could lead to enhancing the oligochordic scales by moving them into a different register, as Ghizela Sulițeanu[47] showed. In the examples from Argeş *Căluş*, such transpositions generate modulations, in all the cases it goes down one fifth, therefore a modulation at a subdominant. Such a technique leads to a shift of the registers, usually of the unused ones, such as in **β2**, which makes it difficult to place the transposed cells in the same paradigm, because the principle of the register (this principle, together with other sonorous features help to identify the

[46] Brăiloiu 1967: 283.
[47] Sulițeanu 1979: 210.

generic cells) is neglected. However, it was their functional placement in the melodic structures that led us to place them in the same paradigmatic classes:
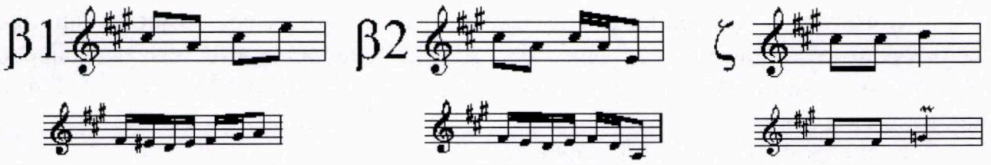
Fig. 28 – Metabola.

All these variational techniques indicate, at an individual level, a highly improvising creativity within the limits of the abstract archetype of each paradigm, and, at the general level, a remarkable flexibility of the *Walks* repertoire, quite unitary otherwise. The balance between constant and variable, present in the analysed melodies, has some informational nuances which highlight the oscillation between two opposed principles: information and redundancy, competing for properly sending the aesthetic message[48]. This aspect will be further considered.

VARIATION – POTENTIAL VECTOR IN INDIVIDUAL AND GENERAL REPERTOIRE

Relation between paradigm "density" and variation degree

In order to explain the paradigm distribution in general and individual repertoire, their frequency becomes a tool for analysis, which although questionable in many cases, could bring here some clarifications. Corneliu Dan Georgescu insists on the importance of such analysis: "It is essential to have a statistical approach to the material in order to highlight the relatively stable nucleuses, the patterns which can infinitely generate not only variants [...] but even distinct types"[49].

Their occurrence proves to be a barometer for coagulating some preferential cell classes resulted after analysing the fiddlers' individual repertoires.

The occurrence of the secondary cells at the piece level and mainly their spreading in the performers' repertoires indicate preferences (or even rules). Here is an example:

1. **γ, δ** 2. **ε** 3. **ζ, η** 4. **θ, ι, κ**

This analytical route shows the higher or lower number of secondary cells produced when performing one piece or at the level of the general repertoire. The statistical approach, mentioned by Corneliu Dan Georgescu, used for analysing

[48] Moles 1972: 35-47.
[49] Georgescu 1984: 32.

the *Walks* highlights some stable nucleuseses, namely paradigms **γ** and **δ,** which have a dominant position in the repertoire of the secondary cells (especially for marking the sections); gradually, the frequency of the others is diminished.

Moreover, it is essential to emphasize the relation between variations and the cells occurrence. In order to show the general tendencies, we have introduced *density*, as a notion able to express the subtleties of the musical practice. It led to the following cases:

1. the exclusive use of the main cells
2. the preferential use of one secondary cell
3. the use of more secondary cells

In the first two situations, the variations of **α** and **β** are significant (the *Walks* performed by Voicu Gică, Lăutaru Gheorghe, Lăutaru Enache and some of Luţă Petre's pieces).

For the third situation, the significant number of secondary cells influences the absence of notable improvisation. In other words, the density of the paradigms decides the degree of enhancing or diminishing the variation both in the morphology of a single piece and in individual repertoires. This analytical phase implied a process of quantification which, in certain dichotomies, such as variability / invariability, is placed in a determinable connection: the higher number of the generic cells, the lower the variation number. Therefore, in defining the musical discourse, *density* becomes essential criterion for the relation between the sum of the generic cells and their hypostases. The musical units seem to follow this rule which expresses not only the performing technique and the fiddler's creativity, but also the degree of representability given by the secondary cells. For example, Dură Ştefan and Pîrvu Florea who use a significant combination of paradigms, do not use variation a lot. On the contrary, they prefer homogeneity to improvisation. However, in most of the pieces analysed the tendency towards change is visible, sometimes appearing in very interesting forms, like the one in the following example:
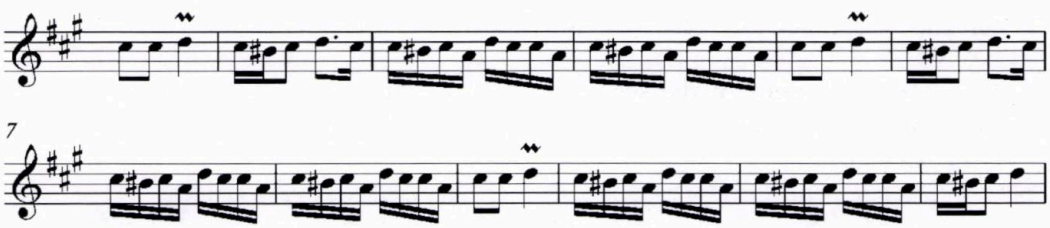
Fig. 29 – Example of successions of cell **ζ**, in mg. 4455 I 1 Hârseşti, Luţă Petre.
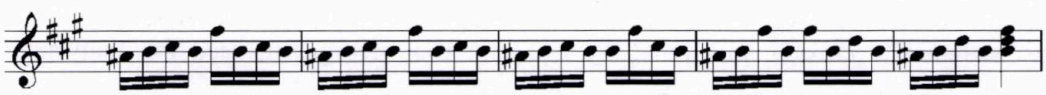
Fig. 30 – Example of successions of cell **η**, in mg. 4456 I b, Stolnici, Voicu Gică.

A particular case is represented by the succession of the cell **β** variations, in most of the melodies.
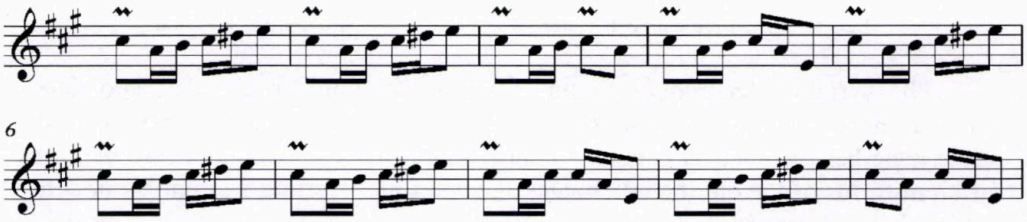
Fig. 31 – Example of successions of cell **β**, mg. 4457 II d, Urluieni, Lăutaru Gheorghe.

We would also like to mention the importance of cells connections, as main characteristic of some variation patterns. It is worth emphasizing the influence of the final sound on the melodic contours of the nuclei **δ** and **γ**, as follows:

1. The variations of **δ** develop preferential contacts which define distinctive structures, more or less visible. Cell **δ** (the fourth bar), whose final sound is $\mathbf{A^2}$, represents the end of some formal sections.
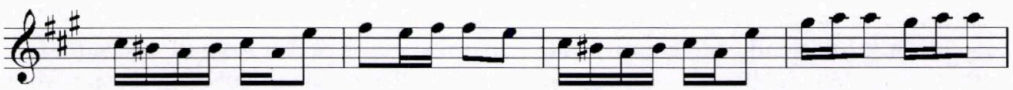
Fig. 32 – Example with cell **δ**, whose final sound is $\mathbf{A^2}$, mg. 4455 II p, Ungheni, Luță Petre.

Cell **δ** whose final sound is $\mathbf{E^2}$ is always associated with main cell **β**.
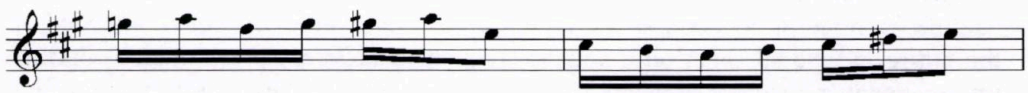
Fig. 33 – Example with cell **δ**, whose final sound is $\mathbf{E^2}$, mg. 4455 II h, Cornățel, Luță Petre.

Therefore, sound $\mathbf{A^1}$ which is a tonic sound for the entire *Caluș* repertoire represents an end, while sound $\mathbf{E^2}$, "dominant", is a "continuation", a passing point.

2. The variation of **γ** are produced at the level of the first sub-cell, influenced by the last sound in the previous cell, **β**.
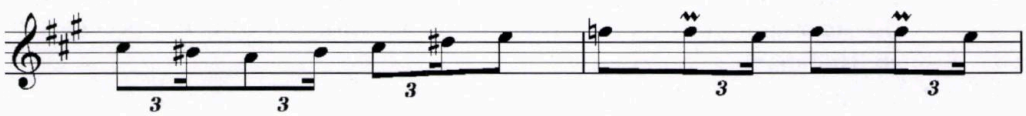
Fig. 34 – Example with cell **γ**, mg.4458 II e, Pădureți, Pîrvu Florea.
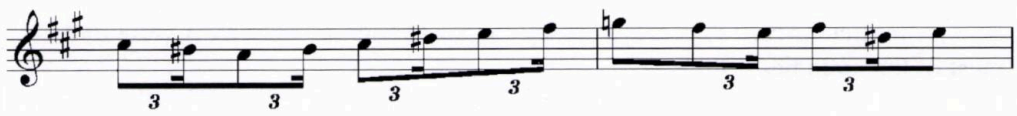
Fig. 35 – Example with cell γ, mg. 4459 I x, Fâlfani, Stolnici, Dură Ştefan.

The variation techniques found in the *Walks* confirm the correspondence between these techniques and those mentioned by Corneliu Dan Georgescu in the dance melodies recorded in Oltenia: "improvisation based on continuously repeating different forms of the old melodic material, sometimes starting from motif or cell – a technique apparently characteristic to the old peasants' or more probably shepherds' practice –, and present in the all authentic, ancient material."[50]

Variation, as style value

At the end of the present study we would like to briefly approach the cell variations as a group of elements generating styles: we are including here the musician's styles, as well as the "style marks" (specific paradigms) which individualise the *Walks* in some of the Căluş repertoire. A very good example is Anca Giurchescu's recording made in Bucureşti, in 1972, when the violin player, Luţă Petre, accompanied the groups of căluşari from Ungheni, Hârseşti and Cornăţel. This case is remarkable because it was a good opportunity to spot the musician's intention to musically differentiate the performance of each group of căluşari. The *Walks* are distinguished by performing one or other musical cells: the group from Ungheni, cells **γ**, **δ**, the group from Hârseşti cell **ζ**, and those from Cornăţel cell **δ** (different from the one in Ungheni because of the variation of the last sound).

Going back to emphasising the personal style, this analytical approach requires criteria for deciding which paradigmatic hypostases become characteristic. Defined as a differentiating concept, style claims *predilections* and *constants*, extended at the entire individual repertoire, and not related to different performance contexts (re-enactment or direct observation). Not considering that we have exhaustively clarified the present topic, we should highlight the preference for generic cells and also the coherence of using some paradigmatic variations in the individual repertoire. Some examples are worth mentioning as they suggest a connection between both aspects and the performing style:

1. High density of paradigms (Dură Ştefan, Pîrvu Florea).
2. Predilection for certain cells in a small number: it is relevant the significant place of **δ** with final pitch $\mathbf{E}^2$, in the *Walks* performed by Lăutaru Enache, Lăutaru Gheorghe; cells **ι** and **κ** are characteristic for Pîrvu Florea, and for the accordion player Voicu Gică, metabola variation of cell **ζ** becomes a stylistic mark.
3. Variations at melodic level.

[50] Georgescu 1968: 19.

At the main cell level, we should mention a series of correspondences: the presence or absence of subdivisions in sixteenth notes (semiquavers) of cell **α** has a strong influence on the following cell, i.e. cell **β**. For example, in Lăutaru Gheorghe's repertoire the variants in quavers or in dotted quavers are in both musical units, while in Luţă Petre's and Voicu Gică's the sub-division in semiquavers and the beginning of **α** with appoggiatura **G#**[1] are characteristic traits. Cells **β** and **γ** are combined with a certain particularity in the pieces played by the fiddlers Luţă Petre and Dură Ştefan: the appearance of **G**[2] as the first sound of cell **γ is** marked by the hypostasis of **β** which as the last sound is **F#**[2] (as in the previous example).

4. Rhythmic variations.

The ternary variation is dominant in the pieces played by Dură Ştefan and Pîrvu Florea; also, only Pîrvu Florea uses the syncopation, a particular form which confers expressivity on cell **β** repetitions.

Fig. 36 – Repetitions of cell **β1** mg.4458 II e, Pădureţi, Pîrvu Florea.

The mentioned techniques are some of the multiple possibilities generated by the performers' competence: virtuosity, creativity, and experience. This brief analysis of style offers us a diachronic perspective showing the evolution of the fiddlers' creativity, the relation between invariability and variability. "Refreshing" the paradigmatic set of the *Walks* performed in Argeş is a process probably brought on by "improvisation based on permanently bringing new elements [...] a technique characteristic to the much newer fiddlers' performance." [51] In the Căluş ritual, the role of the fiddlers is essential, their assessment has been confirmed also by choreologists. Silvestru Petac mentioned that "Their opinion is respected by the *vătaf* (the leader) and by his help, as not few of these performers have played for different groups, thus knowing very well each moment and the specificity of each village"[52].

This approach to the personal style is not an exhaustive one, therefore future analyses of the performance context and formal structures could open new research areas.

EXAMPLES OF VARIATIONAL TECHNIQUES, AS INDIVIDUAL STYLISTIC MARK

The following two transcriptions will show the relation between the *density of the paradigms* and *the variation intensification or diminishing degree.* For this type of analysis, we identified and quantified the generic cells with significant aggregation degrees of musical units and their variations.

[51] Georgescu 1968: 19.
[52] Petac 2009: 112.

1. Lăutaru Gheorghe. Small number of paradigms – significant variations

37
Rit. Căluş: „În plimbare dublă"

Mg. 4457 II h

Informant: Lăutaru Gh., 63 y, Stan Gh., 26 y + 7 dancers
Provenience: Urluieni, Bârla, Argeş
Collected by: Anca Giurchescu; technician: Radu Don
Place and date of collection: Urluieni, 18.06.1973
Transcribed by: Raluca Potârniche, 2.07.2014
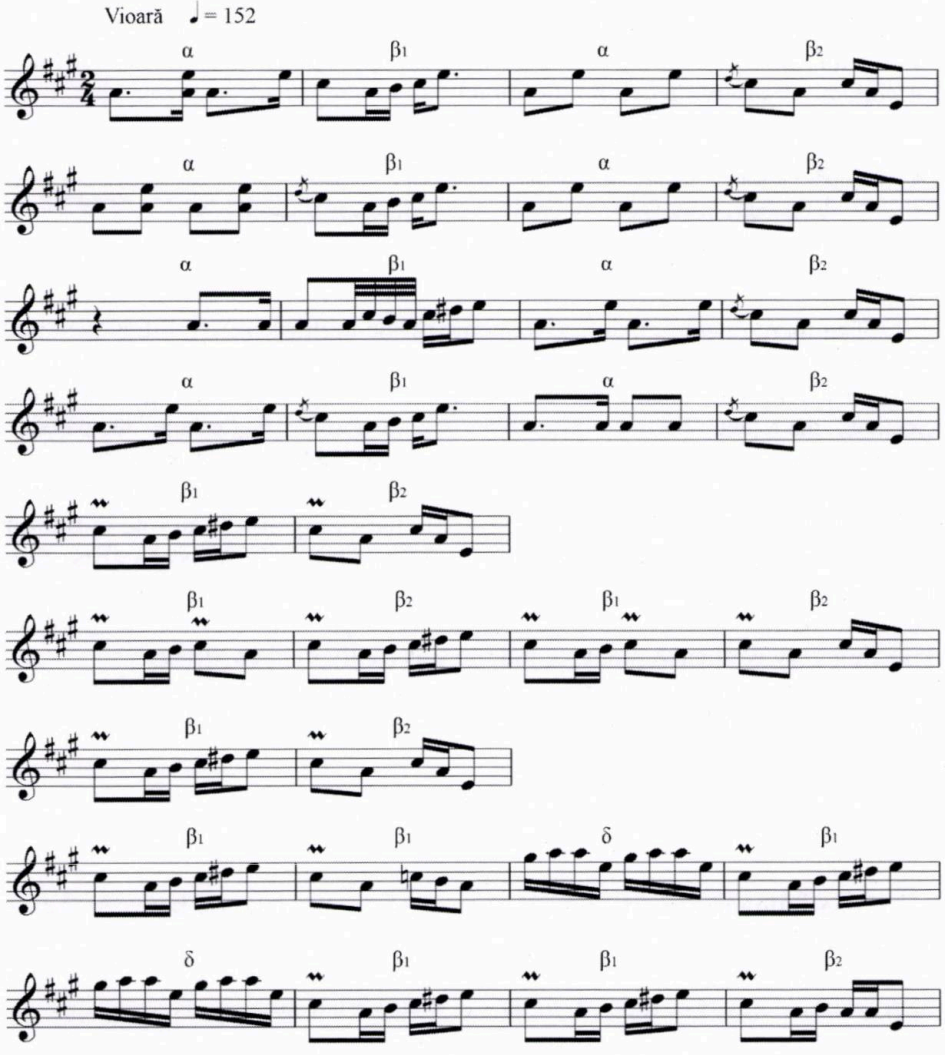
Fig. 37 – Transcription for mg.4457 II h (p 1).
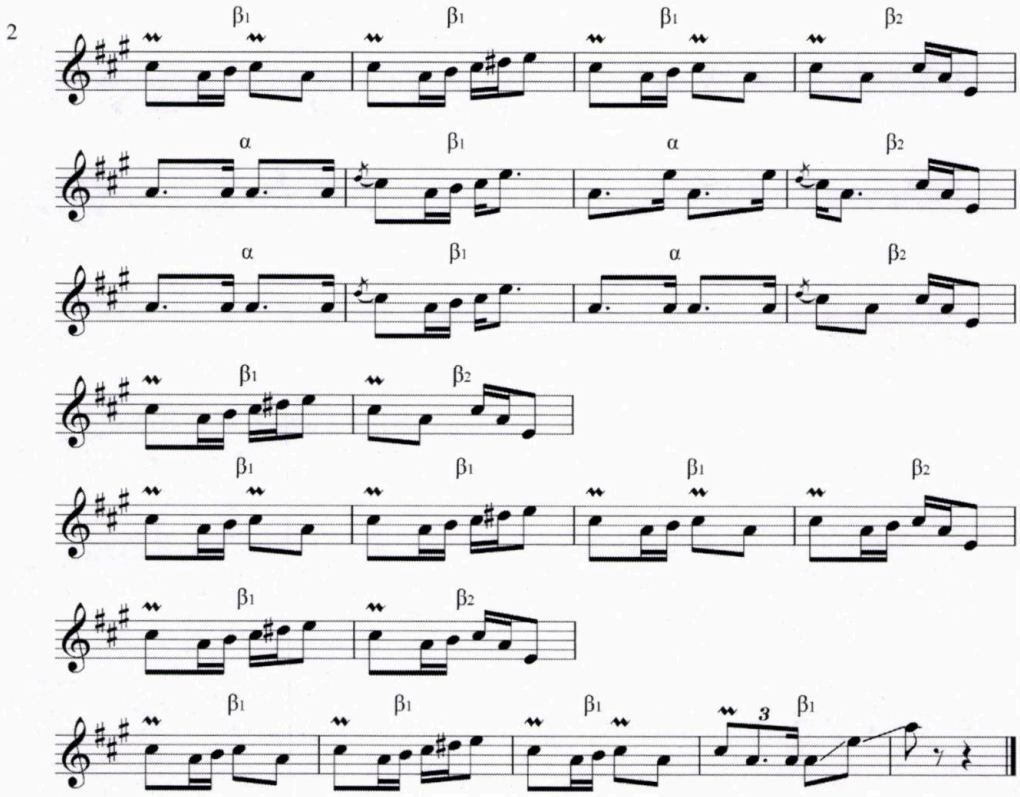
Fig. 38 – Transcription for mg.4457 II h (p 2).

2. Pîrvu Florea. Significant number of paradigms – minimum variations

45
„Marşul Căluşului"

Mg. 4458 II d

Informant: Pîrvu Florea, 68 y, violin
Provenience: Argeş, Pădureţi-Lunca Corbului
Collected by: Anca Giurchescu, 24 June 1973
Transcribed by: Elena Şulea, 2016

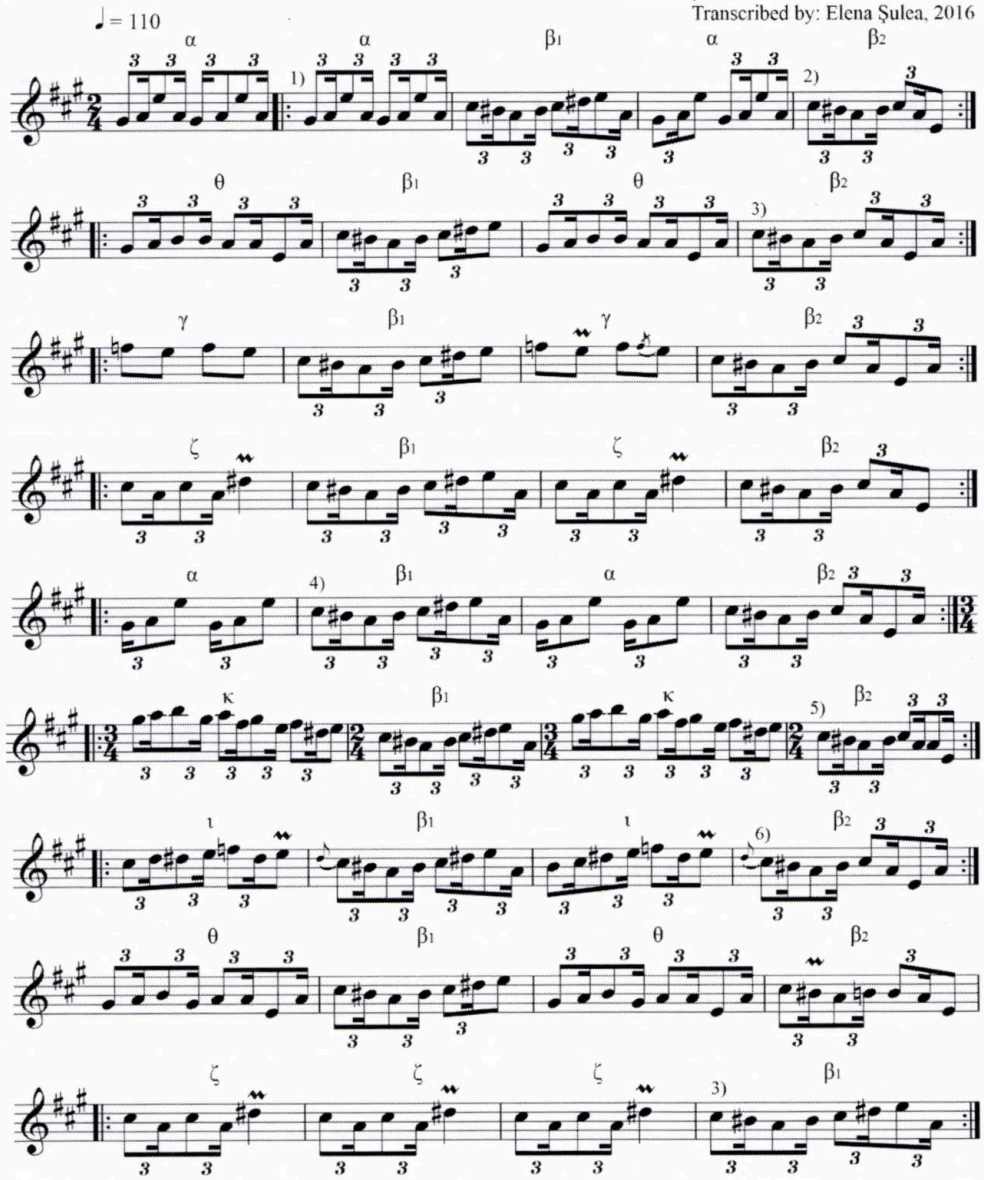

Fig. 40 – Transcription for mg. 4458 II d (p 1).

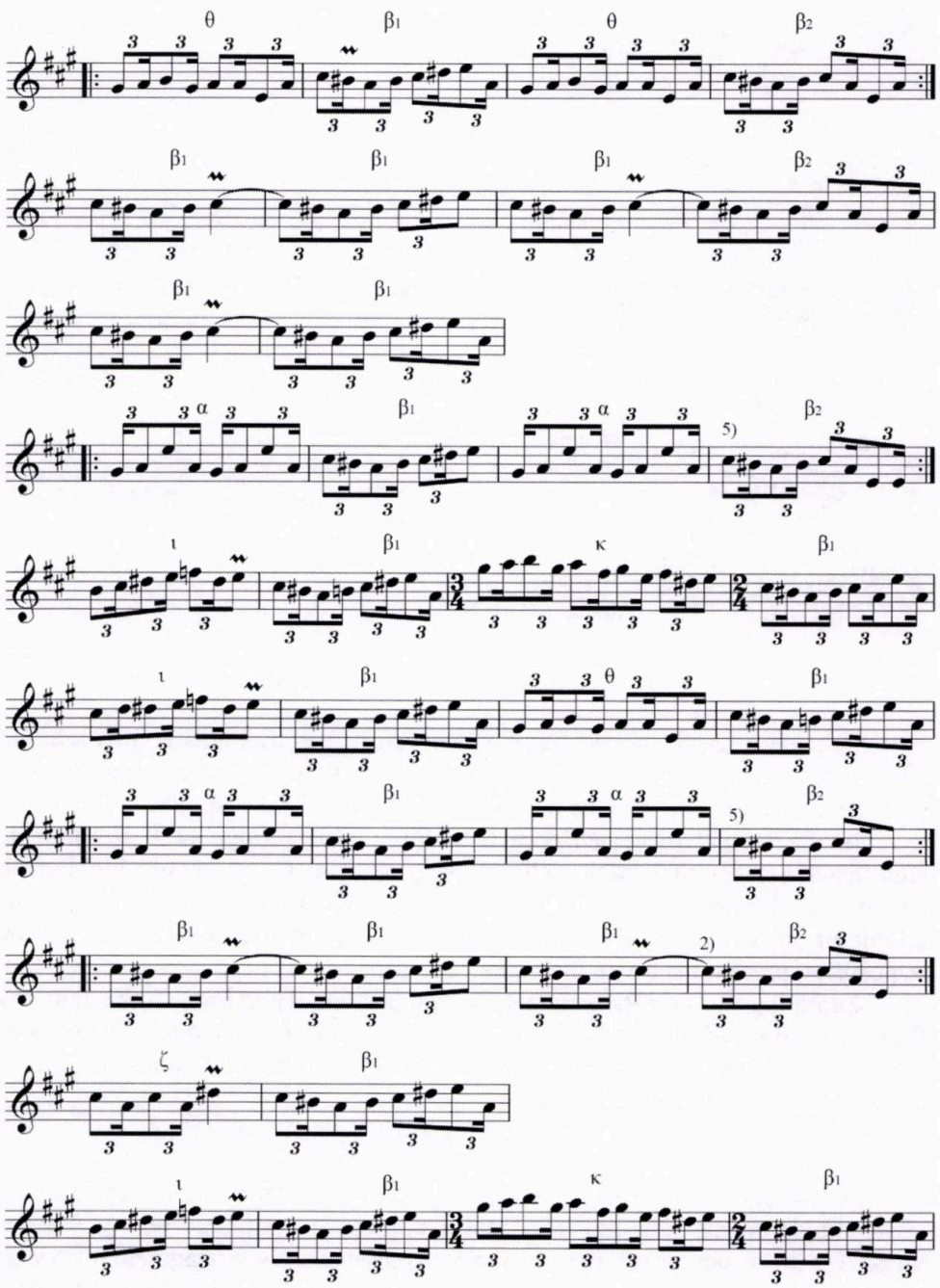

Fig. 41 – Transcription for mg. 4458 II d (p 2).

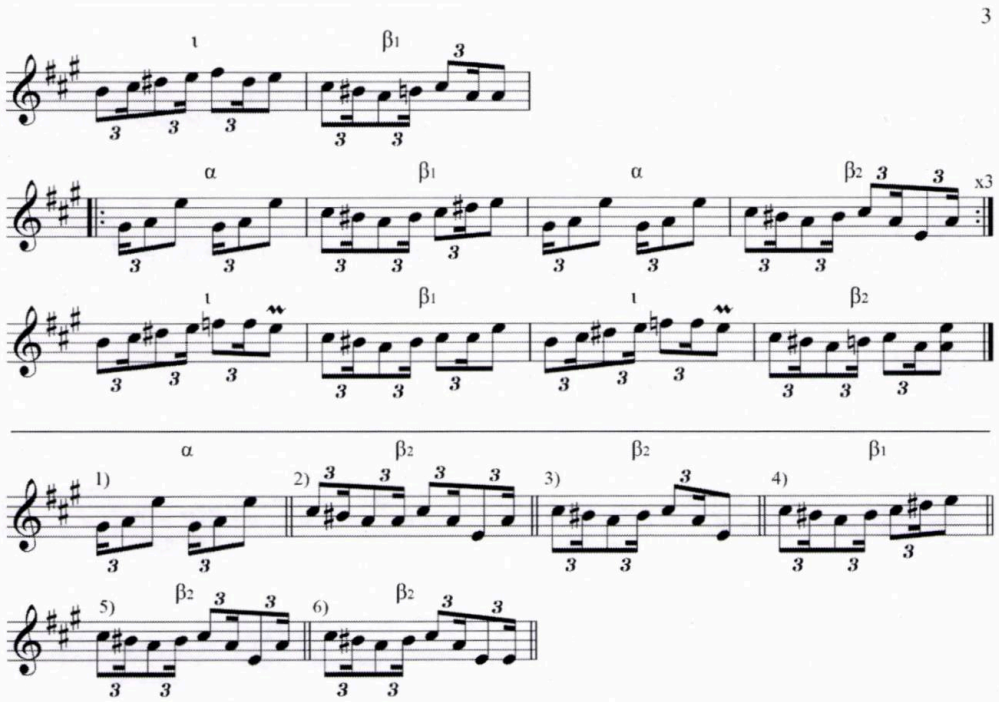

Fig. 42 – Transcription for mg.4458 II d (p 3).

In conclusion, we notice that the piece performed by Lăutaru Gheorghe (mg. 4457 II h), with few paradigms, emphasizes the strength of the variations of the main cells **α** and **β**, and also the persistence of the secondary cell, **δ**.

In the second piece performed by Pîrvu Florea (mg. 4458 II d), with a significant number of generic cells: **α**, **β**, **γ**, **θ**, **ζ**, **ι**, **κ**, we should highlight the stability of the secondary cells and, partially, of cell **α**, with all the variations absent or insignificant. Only one paradigm **β** (1 and 2) has more variational hypostases, present mainly in the second sub-cell.

Summing up, *density* generates the proportion. Therefore, in the first piece there are two paradigms with multiple variations and *only one constant cell*, while in the second one, there are numerous generic cells without variations and *only one paradigm with multiple variations.*

*

At the end of our study, we would like to mention that our statements and observations do not represent the final, complete and ultimate reality. We have worked with a sample of pieces which represents only a fragment of what is (or was) the real phenomenon of the ritual of *Căluş* performed in Argeş. Analysing these musical examples, we have found out that each new musical example brought

on new situations to clarify. Therefore, to conclude, we would like to say that although we have grasped the main elements of the musical repertoire analysed, there are still many details to be revealed and the musical paradigmatic structures of the *Walks* has not been and could not have been fully covered.

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WEATHER-LORE ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS AND FOLKLORE HOLIDAYS IN ROMANIA

ADINA-ELIZA CROITORU,
MADALINA-GENOVEVA UNGUREANU, CSABA HORVATH

ABSTRACT

Traditional knowledge of weather forecasting in connection with religious and folklore holidays is a part of Romanian cultural heritage that existed in the collective memory for decades or even centuries. In this paper we present 12 holidays that are considered to be weather predictable. This study was developed based on different sources: the analysis of both scientific references and information available in online media, as well as on interviews with old people on this topic. The classification of the holidays was made considering the four seasons of the temperate climate, but we also considered the main climatic variable involved, the spatial coverage, as well as the origin of the holiday (Orthodox, Catholic, or pre-Christian). Weather-lore connected to most of the Catholic holidays is similar to that reported for many different regions of the world, whereas that connected to the Orthodox and pre-Christianity holidays is specific to different regions of Romania. Thus, considering the seasons, we found that holidays are distributed along the year in all seasons, with a higher frequency in in winter. For some cases we found out that two holidays are connected by similarity or opposite weather conditions. Classified by climatic variables, most of the relationships are established with temperature, followed by those associated to precipitation and atmospheric instability (thunderstorms).

Keywords: traditional knowledge, weather-lore, meteorology, traditional holidays, Romania.

1. INTRODUCTION

From ancient time till nowadays, people from all over the world have been fascinated by weather variability and tried to explain the evolution of weather conditions. But in most situations, since the development or in some cases even the survival of the community depended on weather conditions, they have begun to predict the weather evolution, by using the connections with plants, animals or religious holidays or even to adopt adaptation measures for climate changes[1].

[1] Brunt 1946.

The behavior of plants and animals have been used as weather predictor, whereas the connection with the religious holidays seems to be a "statistical" approach[2]. Under these circumstances, the traditional knowledge on climatology and weather forecast has become not only one of the most important cultural heritage of different people, but a scientific heritage.[3] In some communities, especially in Africa this information is still in use against the scientific and modern weather forecast[4, 5].

Traditional knowledge has been used since ancient times all over the world in weather forecast and in farming systems[6]. This type of knowledge includes both technical and non-technical fields of study, such as meteorology, agriculture, climate, vegetation, sociology, anthropology[7].

Worldwide population has found different ways to predict the weather. Thus, on the Asian continent, tribal communities have used traditional knowledge about cloud formation, rain, drought, lighting to prevent and manage natural disasters and extreme weather events[8] . In India, for instance uses Tibetan astrological theories, which are holistic and multidimensional in nature, to predict rainfall. This type of prediction has been proven to be true in a percentage higher than 50%[9]. Animal behavior is another local knowledge used to predict weather patterns such as drought, rain coming or stopping, heavy rain season, the end of a season and the beginning of another[10]. On the American and European continents, the expression that involves animal behavior, is known and used, and is also considered to be weather predictable "like a dying duck in a thunderstorm"[11]. For weather prediction and climate forecasting people have also used folkloric knowledge about different plants, both on the European and Asian continent. Different types of plants, such as herbs, trees and shrubs have been used to predict seasonal disasters caused by phenomena as rain, drought, snow, extreme heat or cold, ice and wind[12]. Another bioindicator that is known to forecast weather is a person suffering from different chronic diseases such as rheumatism, sciatic problems. It is believed that a person with such a suffering can forecast rain or a temperature drop two, three days before it happens[13]. Traditional knowledge has stories, narratives that bring a different approach on

[2] Okonya and Kroschel 2013.
[3] Ebhuoma and Simatele 2017.
[4] Rancoli et al. 2002.
[5] Makwara 2013.
[6] Nakashima et al. 2012.
[7] Anandaraja 2008.
[8] Pareek and Trivedi 2011.
[9] Angchok and Dubei 2006.
[10] Islam et al. 2017.
[11] Antone, Minard 2010.
[12] Nedelcheva & Dogan 2011.
[13] Chinlampianga 2011.

weather prediction and climate[14]. Technology steps on second place and social sciences are stepping forward, such as folklore and anthropology[15].

It is interesting that in different civilizations, sometimes on different continents and led by different religions, people considered the bad weather as a punishment of the Gods for their behavior[16]. The Romanian people have tried to predict the weather since ancient times, long before the development of modern resources and techniques for weather analysis and forecast. This paper aims to identify the religious and folklore holidays connected to meteorology, through their superstitions and legends and to make a brief inventory of them by classes of the climate variables "implicated".

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The information was collected by analyzing studies from different sciences, such as ethnography, folklore, and religion. The information about folklore and religious holidays and their connection with weather conditions was gathered from scientific references, media channels as well as from direct interviews with old people from different regions of the country.

In Romania, the population is in its vast majority of Romanian nationality (mainly Orthodox), followed by the Hungarian nationality which is mainly Catholic, but also Protestant.

The Hungarian population is settled especially in central and western Romania in the regions of Transylvania and Banat-Crisana (Fig. 1). For this research we collected information for both ethnic groups.

The religious holidays are usually dedicated to different saints and their names are given accordingly. They are specific for Orthodox and Catholic religions.

Also, we considered necessary to investigate this topic by different regions of the country, as they developed as different countries until about 100 years ago.

After identification of the weather predictable holidays, we proceeded to different types of classification: by seasons, by the climate variable considered as well as by the extension of the area where they are specific.

3. RESULTS

We identified 15 holidays associated with different weather conditions. The classification by seasons, revealed that most of the weather predictive holidays are in wintertime (six holidays), followed by spring (four holidays), summer (three holidays), and autumn (two holidays) (Table 1). Some of them are connected two by two and that's why in the following sub-chapters, they are treated together (Flowers' Day and Easter Day or the Saint Catherine's and the Christmas days).

[14] Moezzi et al. 2017.
[15] Enock 2013.
[16] Jiga Iliescu 2013.

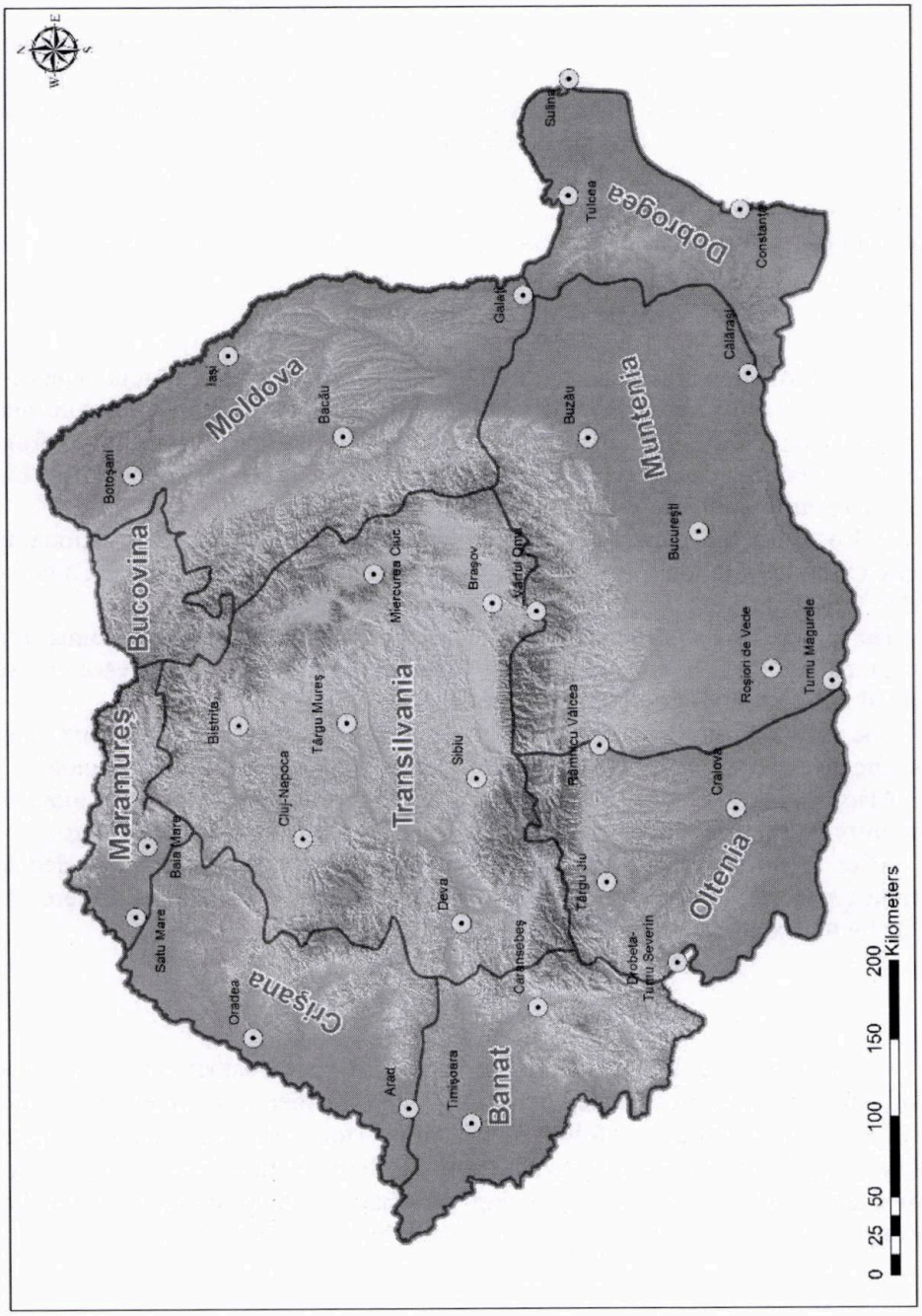

Fig. 1 – Regions of Romania.

Table 1

Romanian Holidays that are weather predictable and their characteristics

No.	Date	Holiday	Scale		Connection with weather				Source		
			R	N	P	T	I	GC	O	C	NR
1.	6 January	Jesus Christ's Baptism Frost		X		X			X	X	
2.	18 January	Sain Irene of Hungary	X			X				X	
3.	2 February	Stretenia/ Bear/Fox's day	X			X			X	X	
4.	24 February	Saint Matthew- the ice breaker	X			X				X	
		Dragobetele – head of spring		X				X			X
5.	1-8 March	The old lady days		X			X	Changing			X
6.	April-May	Easter and Flowers Holiday	X					Similarity	X		
7.	11-25 May	Ice saints	X			X				X	
8.	8 June	Saint MEDÁRD	X		X					X	
9.	29 June	Saint Peter		X	X				X		
10.	20 July	St. Elijah, The Prophet		X	X		X		X		
11.	8-10 November	Saint Michael's summer	X						X		
12.	25 November-25 December	Saint Katherine in connection with Christmas	X		X	X		Similarity		X	

Abbreviations: R – Regional; N – National; P – Precipitation; T – Temperature; I – Instability/ Thunderstorms; GC – General conditions; O – Orthodox; C – Catholic; NR – Non-religious.

Classified by variables, we found that most of the relationships are established with temperature, followed by those associated to precipitation and atmospheric instability (storms). Another characteristic of these holidays is the fact that some of them are relevant for the whole country territory, whilst others are relevant only at a regional scale. The most holidays that we selected are part of either Orthodox or the Catholic calendar. We still found two holidays that are not connected to Christianity, but with Romanian folklore dating back to the pre-Christina period. It worth mentioning that in some situations, the same date corresponds to different saints, but the association with weather conditions is similar in both cultures, whereas in some others the same day of the calendar is associated with different weather conditions depending on the culture (Table 1).

3.1. ROMANIAN WEATHER PREDICTIVE HOLIDAYS IN WINTER

3.1.1. Jesus Christ's Baptism day

The first winter holiday that is weather predictive is *Jesus Christ's Baptism:* it is considered the most intense cooling period of the year. It is assumed that at this time is recorded the lowest temperature of the year. The phrase *Jesus Christ's Baptism Frost* dates back to the time when Romania had an old-style calendar. The baptism was celebrated on January, 19, while after 1924 it began to be celebrated earlier, on the 6th of January. The Hungarian people from Romania have associated another weather prediction related to this holiday: when on January, 6 the temperature is positive, then the winter will come back to stay for a long period of time; if on Jesus Christ's Baptism day the temperature is negative, then the winter will end soon.

3.1.2. Saint Piroska (Saint Irene of Hungary) day

It is a holiday celebrated on January 18 by the Hungarian Catholics in Transylvania. Related to weather, it is considered that if the temperature in that day is below 0°C on that day, the frost period will continue for the next 40 days. If the temperature is positive, then the winter will be short in that year.

3.1.3. Candlemas day

The third holiday in this season is *Candlemas Day (Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord Jesus),* also known in the Romanian folklore as *Bear/Fox's day.* It is celebrated on February 2, an important Christian feast held forty days after the Birth of Jesus Christ and evoking his entry into the House of God. Even though there are some opinions that consider that tradition as a pre-Christian one and connected to rather to Celtic or Roman believes[17]. Nowadays it is connected to this Christian holyday. In Romania, there are two legends about it. The first one assumes that if the bear comes out of winter sleep and can see its shadow the winter will continue for a long time. If it is cloudy, then the winter is almost over and the spring will begin soon. This belief is specific mainly to Romanian culture in the southern region of the country dominated by Romanian Orthodox, as well as to the Hungarian one in Central Romania, where the Catholics are dominant. The second legend assumes that if the fox can cross the river over an ice bridge, "it will melt the ice" meaning that the winter is almost over and the spring will come soon; if it can't (there is no ice bridge), she will make an ice bridge, meaning that the winter will continue for a while. The second belief is specific mainly in the Central area of the country, but in the Romanian communities[18].

[17] Kruesi 2007.
[18] Stiuca 2014.

Similar weather-lore or beliefs were found also at international level: in Central Europe (mainly Germany and Switzerland), Great Britain, and North America (USA and Canada) etc. The prediction of weather in the following period based on the weather condition in the Candlemas day is, in many cases also related to an animal behavior: a bear, a groundhog, a woodchuck or a badger[19]. For instance, the belief is that if the animal can see his shadow he goes back to sleep because the winter will come back for 40 more days or for six weeks. It means that if on the Candlemas day it is warm and sunny, there is more winter to come. Depending on the culture, the day is also known as the Bear's/Fox's/Groundhog's day. The same day is also known as weather predictive for the rest of the winter in a similar way in Great Britain, even though it is not connected to an animal: a fine bright sunny Candlemas Day means that winter will continue for a while, whereas a wet, cloudy, stormy day means that the worst of winter is over.

3.1.4. Dragobetele (John, Head of the Spring)/Saint Matyas

This is a Romanian holiday celebrated on February 24, each year. The celebration known in several areas of the country called Dragobete might overlap Valentine's Day. This holiday is also and it is under the sign of couple, love and companionship. It is a pagan holiday, dating back to the Roman conquest of the Dacia kingdom. In the traditional Romanian mythology, Dragobete was a young god of the autochthonous pantheon, but there is also a legend saying that he was the son of Dochia, the daughter of the last Dacian King, Decebalus (https://rolandia.eu/dragobete-celebrating-love-romanian-style/). Regarding the weather-lore, the Dragobete is a threshold moment, a balance between winter and summer, between numbness and resurrection. Known also as *John, The Spring Head*, the *Dragobete day* is related to the beginning of spring and it is "responsible" for the whims of early spring weather.

In Central and South-western Romania (Transylvania and Banat regions), the Catholic population celebrates in the same day is celebrated by Saint Matyas, which is also weather-predictive. The belief is that if on February 24 Saint Matyas finds ice, he will melt it meaning that the winter end is close, but if there is no ice, then he will bring frost days (negative temperatures) generating ice formation. This saying is somehow similar to that of the Fox legend for the Candlemas day in the Romanian Folklore culture.

3.2. ROMANIAN WEATHER PREDICTIVE HOLIDAYS IN SPRING

3.2.1. The old lady days

Spring starts with one pagan popular holiday, *The Old Lady days*. It proclaims the arrival of spring and last for 9 days, from March 1 to 9, a period usually

[19] Barrow 2013.

characterized by unstable weather which is supposed to be influenced by the capricious character of the Old Lady Dochia (the Winter Lady). It is a national holiday, specific all over the country. There are few female representations of Romanian folklore that enjoy equal prestige like Dochia, the Old Lady. Sometimes associated to the ancient princess, daughter of the last Dacian king, Deceballus (both of them symbols of dignity and of fight for freedom), Dochia seems to get out of the traditional feminine patterns through her strong and continuous struggle. Traditional knowledge tells us that she is a hard-working tough lady, but quite malicious. *The Old Lady days* are under the sign of unpredictability and sudden changes suggesting a fight between winter and spring, between darkness and light, between good and bad, between life and death.

3.2.2. The Ice Saints

The next holiday that is weather predictive is named *Ice Saints*. In South-western Romanian (Banat region) there is a tradition related to the bad weather that occurs almost every year in May, usually after a warm and sunny period. It is said that the bad weather is brought by the Ice Saints. The tradition is associated to a few Catholics saints, known in the folklore as "the Ice Saints". In fact they were bishops, martyrs, or even pope: Mamertus, Pancratius, Servatius, Bonifacius, Sophia and Urban celebrated from May 11 (Mamertus) until May 25, which is dedicated to Orban/Urban pope. The last one is considered the vineyard Saint, and he can bring the latest frost day of the cold season. During this period, it is considered that the weather is characterized by a sharp cooling, heavy precipitation and even frost, causing serious damages in agriculture. In Romania it is a regional holiday, specific to Central and South-eastern regions (Transylvania and Banat), having its origins in the Catholic calendar, but the beliefs were borrowed also by the orthodox believers in those regions[20]. In different countries of Europe, the same holidays are associated to similar weather-lore[21], especially in mid-May (from 11 to 14)[22].

3.2.3. Easter and the Flowers Holiday

The third spring holiday that we found is a prediction for the Easter weather based on the Flowers Holiday weather. The Flowers day is the last Sunday before Easter and it has no fixed date, since it depends on the Orthodox Easter date. However it is on April or May, since the Orthodox Easter day is celebrated each year on the first full moon Sunday after the March equinox. For the Orthodox believers, it signifies the entrance of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem. The Romanian tradition in the South of the country assumes that the weather conditions on Easter day, will be similar to those on the Flowers Holiday: sunny and warm on Flowers

[20] Hedeşan 2005.
[21] Hambling 2013.
[22] Simons 2016.

means that the weather will be nice on Easter day; cloudy and windy weather on the Flowers day is associated with bad weather on Easter day.

3.3. ROMANIAN WEATHER PREDICTIVE HOLIDAYS IN SUMMER

3.3.1. Saint Medardus' day

The first summer holiday that is weather predictive is *Saint Medardus day*, celebrated each year, on June 8. This saint belongs to the Catholic calendar. Saint Medardus, or simply Medard, was a bishop in France in the middle of the first millennium. In Belgium, St. Medard is known as the saint of the rain. According to the traditional belief, whatever the weather conditions are on his feast day, it will continue for the 40 days after that: e.g. if it rains on Saint Medardus' Day, it rains for 40 days more; if the weather is good (clear sky, no wind), the next 40 days will be also fine. Even though the superstition brought by his feast is well-known at international level, in different countries in Europe (https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/St.+Medardus%27s+Day), in Romania it is specific at regional scale, mostly in Transylvania and Banat where the Catholic population is dominant.

3.3.2. Saint Peter's day

Another summer holiday is Saint Peter and it is celebrated on June 29 alongside Saint Paul. Although they are celebrated together, according to the traditional knowledge it is considered that if people do not keep the 3 days of fasting, Saint Peter, as a patron of herds and fields as well as a lord of heat and rain, has the power to punish disobedient people by sending hail and destroying their crops and harvests. Moreover, the weather associated is characterized by severe instability of the atmosphere leading to heavy showers, thunderstorms and squalls[23].

3.3.3. St. Elijah, the Prophet, day

Similar to Saint Peter, but more "spectacular" weather events are usually expected on Saint Elijah's day. According to the Bible, Elijah had several encounters with God on the mountain. He was also a thief and a murderer, but finally God forgave him thanks to his penitence. When he was kidnapped by the forces of evil, God sent a fire carriage and flying horses to save him. After that St. Elijah kept the ability to cast fire and thunderstorm against the devil.

In the traditional knowledge in Romania, the weather-lore connected to *St. Elijah, The Prophet day*, celebrated on July 20 is one of the most known: on his feast day, Saint Elijah crosses the sky in his fire cart to protect us generating extreme weather events, especially spectacular meteorological phenomena such as thunderstorms. Another legend is that Saint Elijah punishes those who do not

[23] Bocşe 2006.

respect his feast by sending fire from the sky[24]. Elijah becomes angry each time when his holiday is not respected and punishes people by sending them thunders and lightening. This saying is spread throughout the entire Romania folklore[25].

3.4. ROMANIAN WEATHER PREDICTIVE HOLIDAYS IN AUTUMN

3.4.1. Saint Michael's (The Archangels') summer

Saint Michael's or the Archangels' summer is associated to the holiday celebrating Orthodox saints Michael and Gavril, the Archangels, on November 8-10. The Romanian folklore legend says that Saint Michael is the guardian of the Sun and Moon and his feast day is associated with the end of the warm season and the beginning of the cold one. Around this date an unusual warm spell is expected followed by a gradually cooling process towards the winter[26]. Even though, this weather-lore has rather a regional than a national extension in Romania. It's worth mentioning that similar traditional knowledge on weather around this date is specific to many regions worldwide, especially in the Northern Hemisphere. Usually, it is known by different saints' names (Saint Martins, Teresa of Avila, or even Saint Luke, celebrated in October) as well as *the Indian Summer* which is defined in the latest edition of the Meteorological Glossary as "a warm, calm spell of weather occurring in autumn, especially in October and November." Before the middle of the last century, such a spell of fine weather would be linked to ancient weather lore and the church calendar[27].

3.4.2. Saint Catherine Day in connection with Christmas Day

The weather prediction related with this Catholic holiday is that if there is mud on this day, on Christmas will be ice and vice versa. In meteorological terms, it can be interpreted that if the temperature is below 0°C on Saint Catherine Day, on Christmas day the temperatures will be above 0°C and vice versa. This prediction is specific especially among the catholic population in Romania, in the regions central and western regions (Transylvania, Banat, and Crisana).

3.5. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The study of folk or traditional meteorology can't be achieved without analyzing the Romanian holidays and traditions, no matter if their origin comes from the Christian or pre-Christian religions, transmitted orally over the centuries.

[24] Jiga Iliescu 2013.
[25] Pamfile 1997.
[26] Moldovan 2017.
[27] BBC 2018.

The present paper represents a small part of a larger and complex study, whose main purpose is to find out the accuracy of "traditional forecast" by using scientific methods and official observation data of different meteorological variables.

This study aimed to make a brief inventory, based on different criteria, of the Romanian religious and folklore holidays connected to meteorology through their superstitions and legends that are weather predictive. Thus, different meteorological variables like temperature, rainfall, snowfall, hail, cloudiness, and thunderstorms were found to be connected with different holidays, but temperature and precipitation are the most common.

In terms of spatial coverage of the knowledge, some of the holidays mentioned in this study have their roots in different regions of Romania and some of them are spread across the entire country. The traditional knowledge of weather forecasting is an important heritage of Romanian culture that needs to be preserved and to be further explored in order to achieve more complex results.

One important fact that should be mentioned is that weather-lore associated to most of the Catholic holidays are similar in many countries located in Europe or worldwide, and they seemed to be propagated together with other religious information, sometimes without any changes, sometimes with minor changes across different countries and regions, neglecting the climate types and local conditions. Under these circumstances, this study will be followed by a very detailed investigation of real weather conditions during the religious holidays in order to check their accuracy.

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"YOU ARE SO CHAAAARMED!": CHARMS AND ILLNESSES IN RURAL TRANSYLVANIA AT THE END OF 20TH CENTURY

ELENA BĂRBULESCU

ABSTRACT

The author analyses an interview about a contemporary case of witchcraft from the point of view of cultural transmission. The argumentation of the article is drafting on the most relevant details used by the interviewee to transform a contemporary illness situation into a witchcraft case.

Keywords: witchcraft, cultural transmission, rural, illness, magic.

This article is trying to answer to an essential question regarding magic. Do people in present rural society still believe in magic? There is but an answer: yes, at the beginning of the third millennium, people still believe in magic. Even more, they will continue believing in it in the future... Robert Muchembled has offered the reason for this belief for the present situation but the reasoning is also pertinent for the future:

> If the Devil left little by little the artists and intellectuals imagination, if he has been tamed in the 19th century as Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Buchat explained, magic, spiritism or charms have continued to exert a huge fascination, both upon scholars as also upon simple people. The ethnologists left in searching of the simple people as Andre Julliard did in Bugey and Bresse, could spot the function always actual of a system of beliefs that explain the real world. Those who use it think that this system provides them with useful rules, that is indispensable ones to orient their social life. Undoubtedly, such phenomena explain why the unrooted rurals of the industrial era have left to the urban people the heritage of a certain nostalgia of this way of understanding world (...). The universality of magic has disappeared, of course, following the long crisis launched by the stakes of witchcraft. Magic continues still to insinuate in the present life, each being able to situate himself as he pleases on the value ladder going from full adhesion to refusal or to the most severe rationalist doubt.(...) We are not sure that the classic religious belief or even scientism would be enough to split things up, that is to make a distinction between ,'the one that believes' from 'the one that does not believe'[1].

[1] Muchembled (ed.) 1997: 11-12.

We are talking here about a cultural system that resembles the digital one called *default*, so that when things seem to stop functioning, or get out of control, the rurals interviewed upon their illnesses, go back to their *default* system: the one where magic holds the most important position. The richness of this trip back from the contemporary medical culture to a narrated magic world is constituting the argumentation of this article by analyzing a contemporary case of *charming* in a Transylvanian village. Starting with 2009 in the frame of a grant research[2] and continuing till nowadays, I am interested in topics belonging to the field of medical anthropology applied to Romanian rural reality: beliefs on health and illness, the relation with the biomedical system, feminine health, home-birthing[3].

Obviously, the link between magic and health/illness is a very old one as the existence of an entire literature in the humanist domains proves it, especially the important tribute brought by the ethnological, folklore and anthropological sciences[4]. Such broad information – collections of charms and more – on the topic could not be exhausted and this will not happen soon for two reasons: the first is because these beliefs belong to the oldest fund of human thought (*default* system) the one we go back when all the others have failed and the second is because "nothing is lost everything is transforming", i.e. the magic and the way it is perceived are transforming as well[5].

Few years ago, at a morning program of a very well-known radio station, the subject launched „on air" was the belief in magic. The hosts of the show were profoundly revolted (not puzzled) that nowadays people can still believe in magic, and considered those who called by admitting they believed in magic as people living (still) in the Middle Ages, implicitly *retarded.* The rural but also the urban reality proves that yes, people still believe in magic. It is not a mainstream belief something to file off with in public but it is there, present; one doesn't have to dig too deep for it and sometimes it takes the foreground with extra-ordinary cases powerfully mediated by the press[6] as was the one in Dolj county few years back, when the members of a family undug a dead from their family suspected to have been a ghost, they burnt him and drank his ashes with water. All these were done to stop the misfortunes that were tormenting the family of that dead man.

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[2] Grant ID 1647, *Receptarea modernizării sistemului sanitar în Romania comunistă de către lumea rurală* (1948-1989) [Reception of the Modernization of the Sanitary System in Communist Romania by the Rural World].

[3] Elena Bărbulescu 2010: 62-72; Elena Bărbulescu 2011: 549-565.

[4] I have chosen as examples just few titles, the most accessible to a Romanian author: Favret-Saada 1977, Muchembled(ed.) 1997, Douglas 1992, Candrea 1944, Pavelescu 1945, Tătăran 2016; Komaromi 2011: 243-246. Komaromi Tunde has written a Ph.D thesis on the topic but since it has been published in Hungarian language it is out of reach for the drafting of this article and the short presentation she has made in the above quoted book offers a very brief and incomplete exposition of her interpretation of the topic.

[5] Komaromi 2011: 243-246.

[6] See one of the cases powerfully presented in the press: www.indiscret.ro/178/reportaj/6250/adevarul-despre-cazul-strigoiului-petre-toma.html (*Adevărul despre "Cazul strigoiului Petre Toma"* [accessed 24.08.2016]).

If I have to generalize, along these years of field research in the Transylvanian rural regarding the topic of health, my interlocutors have manifested their doubt that such things – *charms* – could be possible, usually expediting them in an uncertain past: *when I was young, in my parents/grandparents time,* or simply *before/ in old times...*

I was never concerned in particular by the topic of magic, but along more than twenty years in the Romanian rural field this topic kept coming towards me on different occasions, and I put some of them to value in the article on the good spirits or diverse paragraphs in the research for my Ph.D.[7] For this reason, the moment I have found a coherent story, narrated at first person upon a case of charming, astonishment and other feelings have tried the poor soul of an ethnologist like me.

This time was also an indirect research: when you talk to people about their illnesses you should try to find what do they think about those illnesses, where do evil comes from and how do they manage the crisis situation. While this is not a singular case of charming met in the field research, it is one of the most coherent exposed, and especially or just for this cause, it leads my interpretation to the idea that the person believes with all her heart in magic. If we look closely to the case and the people involved she is not the only one! In fact, the *charmed* woman is an intermediary in the chain of transmitting the belief in magic: she received this belief from her grandmother and pass it forwards to her daughters and niece as well as she can.

Thus, my interviewee tells clearly and confident in herself how she was *charmed*, by whom and what she and the others around her did to get her loose from that *charm*. After interviews where *charms* were something linked to "old times", "a cousin of mine was charmed", "a kin of mine", or "I don't believe in these things" and the topic seemed to have gained a vague aura... No. This woman told clearly in the first person: *I* have been *charmed*!

And no, there were not a sequence of misfortunes and bad lucks that made her believe that as in the cases presented by de Jeanne Favret-Saada[8] but... some screws, more precisely *six* screws without nuts found on the threshold, associated with an illness (one single unfortunate medical episode as Alexandra Tătăran[9] discovered in her own researches upon magic in few Romanian villages) that was very well explained by the medical science too: stones in kidneys and bile. At the interview four persons were present: two ethnologists, husband and wife[10], a couple having more than twenty years of marriage, and the location was the couple's house. The person telling the problem is the wife while the husband talks very little at the end of discussion, but he is present for the whole duration of the interview.

[7] Bărbulescu 2004: 245-256, Bărbulescu 2009: 62-68.
[8] Favret-Saada 1977: 20-21
[9] Tătăran 2016: 20-21
[10] The interviewers are Elena and Constantin Bărbulescu.

Except the wife who receives us by lying on the sofa, for medical reasons, the rest of us sat around the table in the middle of the room.

Mrs. Veronica[11] is born in 1939 and has two daughters and a niece born at the end of her problems, which is an important detail since she ascribes her a positive role in the healing process. She lives in a house on the main European road of the village. This fact is saying that the village, its community has the greatest chances to be attuned to the exterior world and implicitly to diverse cultural influences. She is short, chubby and talkative, as one would say in regional terms: "an adviser". She is one of the most agreeable people I have had the chance to talk in my field researches. Lying on an old model sofa, she tells us kindly smiling, sometimes self-ironical while her husband sits calm at the table without uttering a word, smiling shrewdly but also emphatically when the replies of his wife make reference to the presence or non-existence of her jealousy for him. In fact, she has been *charmed* for/because of him! A classical case of love charming just that as our interviewee insists, it is completely anachronical: "It didn't happen to me when I was young, it has happened now in old age!".

With a serious anamneses of diverse health problems along the years, at some point the interview reaches the subject *charms*. Our interviewee enters slowly into the story, as if she is trying to lengthen the preparations, she tells about what she knows and what she can do trying to sketch the role of a mature married woman, by shortening at the same time the hospital episode. Because she doesn't know or couldn't explain the matter in medical terms but especially because this "introduction" helps in her demonstration that she "was charmed", our interviewee prepares the field, i.e. is taking me the interviewer to her "home". To a „home" with double significance: her home – the place where she is living quietly, but also to a home having the meaning of a cultural circle where the problems (healthy ones as well) appear and are solved "differently".

Along the part of the interview where she relates the *charm*, our interviewee changes the passive and active roles in both situations: relation with biomedicine and relation with magic, letting herself *taken*[12] or sometimes *going* by herself to the people in the medical or the magic systems.

Let us proceed with the text analysis of our witchcraft story:

> After I married this daughter from Spain, I had here a widow neighbor. She is one year younger than me. And... it didn't happen to me in youth years, it happened to me in the old age! I got swollen! But I didn't know the cause. And I have finished working in the fields, with harvesting and all, and he [her husband] kept going to cut pigs, he was younger then. And... I cooked and I said I should go to Gherla, cause I

[11] The name is invented so as to keep discretion upon the true identity of the person interviewed.

[12] Generally, during the medical anthropology researches, the answers regarding the relaton with the biomedical system showed a passivity of the people interviewed, that is they let themselves be *taken* to medical investigations, usually by family members.

knew a doctor there, and see why in God's name I kept on swelling. Well, I went, I haven't eaten anything but I was so swollen, I thought I would burst. Of swelling! It was the Christmas Lent. And I went to the doctor and he said to me: << You know, Mrs. Veronica>> this is how he called me, <<it would be better if you check in the hospital, so as to make all the analyses and you see, you should have a merry Christmas >> I said, I didn't bring clothes with me. They said they would give them to me. And I stayed. And in the hospital I grew worse day by day. Till at some point I could not stand anyone! And I came home even iller than I went. *I was not for doctors!* Cause I... and this was during the Christmas Lent, and I prepared a lot of things if I came home. I washed the towels, and I cooked for Christmas, my daughter came, and I had cooked all day, roast meat, whatever is needed for holidays... in the evening when my daughter came I didn't want anything [to eat]. Today like this, tomorrow the same, day by day nobody knew what I needed. When the Easter Lent came it threw me on the bed. I could no longer stand. Poor mum, she said to me to go to a woman in Agris. To go there. Well, I said, let it be, the Devil charmed me, now in old age! It didn't happen when I was young and now it did [ironical]!

"After I married my daughter" is the key phrase for this story of charming. It sums up a world outlook much used in all Romanian social environments: *One should build a house. One should plant a tree. One should have a child.* In short, this is the destiny of each person in the world. That fact that the youngest daughter was *lumită* [Romanian word to express to be as you should be in the world], to use a traditional expression, it means that she is no longer in the parents care and the mother – lelea Veronica[13], got of the hook, she fulfilled her destiny on earth – the traditional one: she is married, she has two daughters who also got married (it is important that she uses the first person singular – I married my daughter – fact that is stressing the idea that the marriage is a result of *her* work; her life cycle has only one big step to make, one major event: death! Thus, until the next event she has a big "emptiness" that is not yet covered by grandchildren. In this emptiness created by the leaving of her last child from home, time when the woman needs to re-assess the meaning of life with the new situation, an illness occurs that doesn't find any rational explanation. How could it?! This ending of a life cycle, this passing over the threshold is supported and far too quickly anticipated by the sayings – that's great! – of the daughter of the witch: "Even her daughter said to me: «Well if you die, what? Cause you married your girl». «Well what do you say? You want me to die?» Her daughter does not greet me, not even nowadays. Her mother died after".

Probably the word "serene" would have been necessary, which would not have solved much but it would have sweetened the word as also the idea of death, in a phrase used often in the rural area to express the satisfaction when a thing is well done. Even if the parents feel responsible for their children till their marriage, their help for the young family goes long after that. The unmarried children are always a problem for the image of the family inside the community. For this

[13] I will use in the text from now on the word *lele* instead of Mrs. to name our interviewee, as this is the addressing formula natural for the rural area for a woman of her age and social condition.

reason, the leaving of the last child through marriage shows that the family fulfilled as it should its communitary role. Plus, with the last child leaving home, the maternal worries of our interviewee have transformed into an enhanced attention towards the well-being of her own marital relation. This view turned upon the couple contributes as well to the "discovery" of the problem.

The first paragraph of our story puts us right from the start in contact with the main characters: who, to whom and why did she do the spell. We have so the widow neighbor who cast a spell on her in order to take her husband. And we also have a very short story of the medical system lack of efficiency[14], because our interviewee wants to show us that she is perfectly aware of the positivist interpretation of an illness situation asked by the present social usances. I, the ethnologist, the one who is interested in her story, come from this world, that does not have all the answers, or better said does not have the answers for all the questions. Conclusion falls short and timely: "I was not for doctors!".

After this introduction we have the story which is in fact a recollection of a situation of breach of the normal that took place fourteen years ago. The story does not keep an exact chronology of the facts but is carried by memories forward and backwards, building a puzzle from a mixture of strong and weak images, leaving us, the readers to provide for the missing parts.

We have right from the start the classical scheme of witchcraft[15]: the why, the announcer and the problem. The motivation and the evil doer are missing though they are implicit.

After the first paragraph where the problem is identified, here comes the action:

> And they took me to a woman there. And with one of her neighbors. We went with him and... he put me on a chair, like you are sitting, and they searched me, they drag me into the house... she saaaaid: "You are sooo charmed, so that you could not do anything!" And I said "By whom?" Well she said that by some sows. She didn't want to tell me. I said: "What do they have with me?" And I was with a piece of underwear, cause they should do some more... I said, "should I leave the underwear?" "No" she said, „you come". And I went three times. They took me by car cause I couldn't other way. And when she searched me in the first evening my heart squeezed... And I said to myself, why did I go?! And I could not sleep all night. Afterwards my daughters went to priests, quackers, the priest read to me. They did what they knew. [sigh]. The left side of my body started to ache. I did not look through the window to see if it was daylight, I closed my eyes. But I knew it was daylight!. The pain took me from here, slowly, slowly, slowly, till it was tougher. Cause I lost two teeth as I squeezed them in pain. All the left side of my body. Three years and seven months I lied in bed. I was like a stupid woman. I saw myself this way. I could not do anything! You know what nothing means?! I would do my bed and then I was in bed again, I wonder how could I stay in bed so long?! And I have

[14] Komaromi 2011
[15] Julliard 1997: 274-323

had socks, long panties, vest?! Fire in the house. And I was an iceberg from the belly downwards! Until afternoon. After that I started to warm. And my legs were wrapped in a fur, plus a blanket. I don't know. God. I don't know how... It's been fourteen years since I am well.

The paragraph introduces us directly into the action of restoring the normal and the interviewee starts by including us discreetly into her story: „as you are sitting" with the obvious aim of enhancing the credibility. Lelea Veronica puts herself alternately into passive and active roles, that is either she goes or she is taken, giving the impression she is not alone in her problem. She was alone but know her problem is acknowledged as „real" by all the people she goes to/is taken to but also by the close ones, who, very important, are not few: to a woman (enchanter)[16], priests, quackers etc. People who obviously strengthen the gravity of the situation: she alone could not do anything to solve her problem and for that reason she must have gone personally and not let the underwear, that is we have a short circuit of the dis-enchanting by contagion.[17] Then the narrative continues with few examples upon the forms of manifestation of the matter: *heart squeezing*, *no sleep*, *taken up*, *iceberg*, as a *stupid woman* (the meaning is abnormal)... the picture is devastating, stressed with a discrete self irony: "I wonder how could I stay in bed for so long?!" The fact that she could not do anything takes our interviewee out of normal, off the natural, letting us see that for a period of time, as long as she has had a health issue, she lived somewhere in suspense, in any case not in the real world where she should have cooked, cleaned, take care of the household.

Where and how, cause I went to one woman in Beresti, and she read in cards and said: "oh, *tante*, why you stayed so long?! You are so charmed!!! You to die and your husband to go to them". I was up and he was down. She saw it... She told me who. Later she told me who. And my daughter brought me a woman even from Oradea, and Sibiu. A priest came home, my brother in law brought him. Secretly. He took a car, waited in the station and brought him here so as nobody would see him. And our priest. And the priest from Bert. And I was so scared of him. And praying... couldn't sleep all night why do I go there so that he shout at me?! Cause that priest was shouting at you. "What, don't you have a priest in your village?" [she imitates the priest] But when I entered that church, you believe me that I did not see a thing? Only him in a chair, but I could see only black. And he said to me: „Were you at the doctor?" I said: "I was". "And what did they told you?" "They said I have stones in my kidneys and bile..." "You don't have stones, you have sand!" He said. "But your neighbors come visiting?" I said: "No". "Well, sit down!" He told me, and he told me to keep the Dark Lent. Only bread and water till six in the evening and I was still hungry. Laying in bed and not doing anything. He [the husband] had to go everywhere, everybody pulled him, he

[16] Julliard 1997: 274-323

[17] Normally it would have been enough for the victim to leave a personal object to be dis-enchanted by the principle of contagion, but the fact that there is a persistence upon the victim's presence is used as an argument to underline the *gravity* of the situation.

> could not cook, the fridge broke ... the daughters came and cooked for him... We did not have cause it spoiled. My daughter that got married was so stupid that she did not know how to fix the fridge, cause we cut a pig and the meat spoiled in her fridge... well, she did not know cause she went to school, and she did not know doing much. And I don't know cause I went also to Ciarbru to a priest. And that priest told me the minute he saw me: "Weeeell, You are so charmed!" And I said: "well, could you give me..." and he said: You cannot leave here anything *you* must come to dis-enchantment".

Lelea Veronica unleashes herself and so we find that she took part in a complete circuit of dis-enchanting[18]. She was read in cards, confirmed by the fortune teller and priests that she had a "real" problem of witchcraft and even more, that the problem is very serious. All these woven on a background of distorting the real: she can see only black in the church, normal would be for her to see, and since black is the color of evil in the European culture, it strengthens the negative idea, the abnormality. Even more two lines appear that annihilate, if there was still needed, the modern interpretation of the situation-crisis: the one where the priest undermines the medical authority by correcting the diagnostic, and the one where the idea of school education is shadowed – if you consume your time attending school you don't have enough to learn the practical things. Besides the fact that our interviewee underlined that the priest was shouting is used as well to strengthen the positions in the hierarchy of knowledge: first the priest and only after follows the physician, but also that *harsh* means authoritary and authoritary means trustful[19]. The voice of authority is *harsh* because it must create the impression that she finally reached the right person, the one that has the key to solve the crisis situation, and the one that re-confirms the place of biomedicine in solving the crisis, i.e. none.

Remarkable here is that the entire crisis is kept away from community eyes, people come and go secretly, "the family folds up towards itself"[20] but also starts suggesting the identity of the witch: "some sows", that is bad women, or one of the priest goes further by saying "neighbors". The circle opens and closes at the same time. The matter is taken outside the family but kept in the proximity of the household. With each enchanter that participates in the healing process the witch identity is revealed slowly till it reaches her exposure by spatial identifying where she lives compared to the victim's household: a neighbor.

> And we went to that monk, and my daughter told him, but she didn't know to bring water, flour, oil, but the monk gave these to her, God bless him, cause he died! My daughter told him and he made a mass on that water and told her: „of these two, the one that bewitched your mother, will have something bad happening in a marked day. One of them. The one she liked doing it". And so it was! On St. John's day, she [the witch] passed by but she did not look. I was going towards kitchen. To cook. She passed. "Ohhh, You devil!" I [said]. And when I went to the church, the day I went I

[18] Favreet-Saada 1977.
[19] Cialdini: 2004, cap. 6, upon authority.
[20] Julliard 1997: 302

heard she died. On a marked day. Just like the monk said. And so she died! She woke up in the morning, she ate, she read and all of a sudden she died. They said she was so swollen! They didn't see anyone like that before!

The story continues by presenting the punishment received by the witch following the numerous visits made to chanters, quackers and priests: she died in a marked day. Now, the death seemed to have been a quick one, car crash[21], and that she died on the spot, which in traditional terms translates as she died before her time, unnatural, and our interviewee insists that she has swollen, by trying again to bring arguments in supporting the unnatural as proof of the witchcraft crisis: a witch does not die naturally, nor the members of her family.

Once told the ending where as expected the witch got her punishment, lelea Veronica takes again parts of her story bringing further arguments and focusing on details. First we have the witch's portrait built in the immorality key[22]: "She had three husbands. Cause the one she was married after, she had two boys with him and died. They died in car crashes as she did." Than we have the deeds and innocence of the victim: "And I let him(husband), he went, if I knew that now in old age they do [witchcraft]... I would let him go, but «come and fix me this, fix me that» [she imitates the neighbor]... Cause she remained a widow with three kids. «Come and fix my fence» or «take the horse and do» [imitates the neighbor]... I was not jealous, cause if it did't happen in young age, I was not jealous! What should happen now?!" reaching the climax with the first sign of crisis: "I found here under the steps, under the carpet, we came from the woods, six screws like this! Only the nuts were missing at the end. When I saw them... [I thought] well they put him iron, cause I don't work with iron, and he would touch them and he still... [would go to the witch]".

Finding a pair of bikini strengthens the story of the screws, and the "suspect" objects are thrown in the river. But one of the enchanters confirms that the objects are charms and also says when they were put there! Obviously hard to believe for us but very credible for our interviewee. With a diligent husband, as his wife presents him, always on the move, always working for himself or his neighbors, the screws found on the steps are not a worry fact for the audience; with two daughters in the house nor the bikini put any problems. Nevertheless, lelea Veronica has explanations to take them outside the normal: the screws were three new and three old and repeatedly... no nuts at the end, and what to do with a screw without a nut? And they should have been wrapped in paper, and the bikini should not have been there in a time when the daughters were left from home. Thus the girls could not forget such objects in the occasional visits paid to their parents!!!

Beyond the irony of interpretation[23], so obvious in the paragraph above let us not forget that the two characters: witch and victim[24] belong to the same cultural

[21] We find out that she died in car crash when the interviewee tries to make a portrait of the witch.
[22] Andre Julliard 1997: 308.
[23] Favret-Saada 1977:18-19.
[24] Pop-Curşeu 2013: 12.

environment and thus we could assume with a certain prudency that these objects might have been placed with the purpose of a love charm.

After that the story goes back to the biomedical system with the clear intention to persuade us that our victim has tried anything she could try in the medical system whose representatives declined systematically the possibilities and means helpful in solving the problem:

> I took so many pills, kiss your soul, but I was not for medicines. That time *Piafen* appeared for the first time. This nurse, who is a neighbor, is the only one who knows how many she did for me, how many she brought to me, but if I was not for doctors! They took me in hospitals, cause the manager of the hospital in Gherla said to me: "I don't know what to give any more to this pretentious lady"... [but what the doctors gave you?] Nothing! They just said this *pretentious* woman. They did not give me anything, I couldn't even eat... only for the girls I went. They could give me anything cause it didn't heal. I was not for doctors! They could do to me whatever they wanted cause... this nurse brought me so many! "If these won't help..." [she imitates the nurse] she could give me a hundred if I was not for...[doctors]!

With this occasion we find out why or precisely what pushes our interviewee towards the default system i.e. the belief she was *charmed* and not that she was ill. The motivation is implicit and in antithesis with the one supporting the idea of witchcraft – the absence of empathy in the biomedical system by naming her "this pretentious lady" and the presence of empathy at charmers when she tells us that the charmer liked her daughter very much[25].

Thus, while the biomedicine representatives pull back without explanations even by implying that the fault is somewhere at the victim, the representatives of the traditional and religious system (it is about the Orthodox religion) move forward firmly by offering explanations and mostly by trying to leave the impression of a link creating between them and the victim, through diverse means and undermining the medical science on the other hand:

> She [enchanter] told me that she liked my daughter the minute she saw her, and she was dear to her: „You, for you I have come" and said: "I go home to deal with the servants[the idea is the servants of devil], cause this is an old illness of your mother" I think those servants had horns! "And if we can save her, if not your mother dies in six weeks". But the girl didn't tell me. And she went home she dealt with the servants and she called my daughter and said she could heal me but hardly.

Lelea Veronica is telling how the crisis was solved, obviously eluding again the biomedical help...[26]

> Well I don't know where the healing came from, from the One Above [God], priests, enchanters, they all were together. (...) And when I recovered, He [priest] took my confession and he said: "Am I wrong?" I said: "No". Cause I knew what he was

[25] Dupont-Buchat 1997: 256-257.
[26] Muchembled 1997: 330.

asking. Cause I was the one [ill] and how have I recovered. I don't know. God knows. This girl [grand-daughter] made my health, I don't know. Cause after she [her daughter] gave birth to her, I recovered. It's been fourteen years now.

What else is lelea Veronica saying? At some point she tells that her sister was shouting the guilt to her neighbor which is the equivalent of a public exposure:

I had my sister and when she passed on the street she was shouting: "You devil, you made my sister ill!" She cursed her every time she passed. And she heard. The priest came and took my confession and he laughed at me: "Well, are you still going to Liviuta?!" Cause this is her name. "Well how good are her pies, her bread", cause I was visiting her, I tell you frankly, I was visiting her. "Well, you see what she has done to you, you see?" [the priest]. At some point I got nervous and I told him everything. And he went to her and told her what I have said. And she [the witch] replied: "Oh, dear father, I would go to her and tell her..." and my daughter went to her sister in law [who said to my daughter]: "What on earth is your mother saying about her?" But I didn't [tell] cause the neighbors were talking. But I didn't want to believe. Cause she could say something to my daughter but she didn't. Because she was guilty. People say that her mother did the same. How much was I tormented...

The victim didn't keep the secret even if she didn't shout it loudly, she did say it to the people that could further tell to the witch neighbor, but who also seem to contribute in stirring the conflict: the priest. We have above an entire paragraph built to strengthen the guilt of the witch neighbor.

Even more, our interviewee introduces another story about witchcraft to argument the differences between white magic and black magic and to explain the refusal of enchanter to do harm to the witch: "Cause we said to the enchanter «you know what? You cast a spell so that she wouldn't die unless I give her water!» and she said «I don't do this, I want to die with my arms on my chest»". Who is making to someone cannot unmake it. And who *un-makes*, doesn't not *make* for very serious reasons, they want to die naturally with their "hands on their chest". The paragraph is very important because it sets each character in his/her place in the crisis and exonerates our victim of any implication in the witch's death: it was God's will.

If we look carefully, we see that lelea Veronica is transgressing both the spatial and religious limits when she accepts a Catholic priest brought by her sister: "I said you bring me also the pope from Rome, bring anyone just to heal me" but especially when we count the places she has travelled to "healers". A multitude of villages situated farther and farther from her village, and two of the cities mentioned are practically at the south and west extremities of Transylvania. This fact shows the consuming of an important volume of time and financial resources not to mention the emotional ones (relating to foreign people).

In conclusion we have a story about a witchcraft crisis, told with surprisingly many relevant details at approximately eighteen years from its initiation, built with enough coherence so as to offer us a broad image of the problem: a neighbor wants the husband of another woman living nearby. In an interpretation of a cultural

outsider, we have a jealousy crisis – the husband helped the widow neighbor too much, and that transmitted the idea that he became the substitute of the deceased husband. Obviously, the victim denies repetitively that she is jealous. For the researchers that know the levers of forming and maintaining a couple in the rural area this insistent negation of jealousy has significant importance. In rural area the jealousy of a woman towards her husband is not socially accepted. Thus, lelea Veronica could not possible admit she is/was jealous.

In fact we have a risk crisis as Mary Douglas would put it: "coding the danger in terms of a threat to valued institutions"[27], and marriage is a valued institution, when there is the danger of dismantling one family by the envious intervention of another woman. The story even superposes on the classical pattern, where the attack is directed towards the getting of the head of one family[28], thus a direct reference to the wealth and image of the family inside community. The man is the one bearing the social image of the family but also of its wealth, let us remember that the victim kept on underpinning the diligence of her husband doubled by a permanent absence of him from the household. Absence at some point desired so as to keep him far away from the image of a sick woman. Again we have an euphemisation of the illness in a witchcraft crisis as the idea of illness in the rural area would bring a quite greater lack of social respect even for many generations of a family[29].

Another key of interpretation is the one linked to *gender* and the feminine health. Lelea Veronica tells us repetitively, what she can do, by showing in fact what traditionally means a woman's attributions in the household. Implicitly to perform her role she must be healthy. Even if she receives us lying in bed accusing health problems and tell us about multiple medical situations, the image she wants to transmit is that she is healthy and till this crisis nothing has prevented her to do her tasks in the household. In the ethnological literature of the past century[30] the explanation for the feminine health problems was always a witchcraft crisis. We have now at more than one century distance a woman fighting for her man on the field of feminine health. A fight of "three years and seven months", a wander in a world parallel to the normal one, "I was like a stupid woman" because the woman behaved exactly as she should not.

The apparition of grandmother and mother of the victim in the moments of uncertainty send the interpretation in a direction not to be neglected that stands at the basis of the interpretation in this paper: that of cultural transmission. Alfred Schütz says: "all interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of "knowledge at hand" function as a scheme of

[27] Douglas 1992: 29.
[28] Favret–Saada 1977.
[29] Bărbulescu 2009: 132-140.
[30] Marian 1892.

reference"[31]. The witchcraft crisis seems the best pretext to give reality to the charms stories told by her grandmother in an attempt to bring into the present a narrated (generic) world, and for that, a magic, beautiful world probably due to the positive experience she has had through her attachment to her grandmother. A world of her childhood where the adult world was brought through stories and the girls, the victim and her sister should discern between good and evil and pay attention to the road to follow. The grandmother was preparing them for a world that through the macro social changes – the communist and the transition (after 1989) periods – has disappeared and left our protagonist without the "arsenal" of knowledge necessary to handle it. Consequently, lelea Veronica transposed her educational arsenal into a contemporary life situation. And she did it with an impressive force, helped by her mother and sister, not to mention the contribution of priests, quackers or enchanters, succeeding no doubt, to transmit these beliefs to her daughters and granddaughter. In the close or far future when the successors of lelea Veronica will have troubles that apparently or for real could not find a solution, from the drawer of memory the solving key will be taken out, of course applicable according to the memorizing and interiorizing abilities they might have. In fact, Robert Muchembled is right: "the new does not replace perfectly the old. Despite all urges to change, the mental structures reveal strangely resistant" [32].

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MAKING A COVENANT WITH THE LORD JESUS: THE APPEAL OF 'REPENTANCE' IN ROMA COMMUNITIES IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA

SÎNZIANA PREDA

ABSTRACT

In post-socialist Romania, characterised by the simultaneous tendencies towards recuperating the previously marginalized religious life and towards gradual secularization, many Roms discover a new dimension of faith in contact with denominations such as the Pentecostals, Baptists or Adventists. The paper aims to trace the outlines of this transformation starting from the identity configuration of the Roma groups investigated, and considering the influence of factors such as age, family and community models, personal (traumatic) experiences, the religious history of the community and the personal relationship with the abandoned denomination. One of the most important findings of the analysis concerns the nature of the conversion, which is rather a (re)discovery of one's spirituality than a transition from one religion to another. Approaching topics such as *Means of accessing/adopting evangelical denominations; Roma marriage, between tradition and faith; God, repentance and the Others; The gains of repentance,*the study sketchesout the patterns of change triggered by conversion in the sphere of social, neighborhood, and ethnic relations.

Keywords: Roma Communities, conversion, Evangelical, repenters, tradition.

INTRODUCTION

The high level of conversion to evangelical denominationsin post-1989 Romania was made possible on the one hand by the change of political regime (with the granting of religious liberty) and on the other by the recovery of the religious aspect of life, overshadowed as it had been for many decades by the socialist state. To designate the denominations which are perceived as "neoprotestant" in Romania (Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists), we have opted for the term "evangelical" (the English "evangelicals" is not synonymous with the Romanian word "evanghelic", which – in its noun form – refers to the Lutherans, a branch of Protestantism). The expression "neoprotestants", which has become established since 1990 in the specialist literature on ex-Communist Europe, is not used in the Western world or in the USA, where the aforementioned denominations

are categorised in different ways. In everyday language, in the collective mentality, Romanians refer to the members of these churches as "repenters" (in Romanian, *pocăiți*); they are distinguished from other Christian groups by the practice of adult baptism. The term "neoprotestant" is thus mainly used in the academic world by researchers involved in thestudy of the denominations which separated from mainstream Protestantism in the 19th and 20th centuries [The Baptist denomination is much older than this but not in central/eastern Europe]: L. & A. Ilić, *Protestant Identity in an Orthodox Context: The Example of Serbia*, in *Christian Identity* (E. van der Borght, ed.), Brill, Leiden–Boston, 2008 (467-480); L. Fosztó, *Ritual Revitalisation after Socialism: Community, Personhood, and Conversion among Roms in a Transylvanian Village*, Series: *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia* 21, LIT Verlag Berlin, 2009; A. Djurić-Milovanović, *Conservative Neo-Protestants: Romanian Nazarenes in Serbia*, in *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, vol. 30/2010, issue 3, art. 4 (34-42); P. Kuzmic, *Dilemmas and Challenges for Theology in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, in *Mission in Context: Explorations Inspired by J. Andrew Kirk* (edited by J. Corrie, C. Ross), Routledge, 2012 (217-227).

The evangelical denominations have begun gaining followers in Romania since before the end of the 19thcentury. In Transylvania, mostly, the number of Baptists and Pentecostals has been increasing constantly, if not spectacularly, as was the case after 1989. In the counties of Arad, Bihor and Cluj, many churches are established, while the "first church with Roma members" appears in the interwar period ("Credința" Baptist Church of Arad)[1]. The communists' attitude towards religion and especially towards "cultists" (as converts were labeled in documents dating back to the interwar period) determined the latter to hide their choice of faith. Among the people persecuted for their faith, there were, without any doubt, members of the Roma community: Paul Caravia (P. Caravia, V. Constantinescu, *Bisericaîntemnițată. România 1944-1989*) mentions the "Gypsy preacher, Vasile Răscol of Bucharest", who "between 1974 and 1976 was sentenced to prison because he had received Bibles from abroad without authorization"; Vasile Răscol was also sentenced to several months in prison in 1971 for owning Bibles and religious books[2]. Roms living in cities (mainly in Western cities, where evangelical denominations count more members) have come into contact with *pocăiți* gatherings more easily.

The pocăiți were living in hiding back then, with Ceaușescu [...] *They were in hiding. You would read the Book... the Bible* [...] *you would read it at home and you would go rarely* [to the gatherings]. *Because you were afraid, you weren't allowed. As for now...*[3]

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[1] Ardelean 2016.

[2] *Istoria mișcării penticostale din Romania.*

[3] B.F., female (b. 1960), housewife, interview conducted by SînzianaPreda in Ostroveni (Dolj county), August 6, 2015.

Following the demise of Ceaușescu, the "Neoprotestant" phenomenon has gained the attention of the academic world. Studies dedicated to conversions prior to the Romanian Revolution[4], however, do not include information directly linked to the conversion of Roms. Generally speaking, there are no "trustworthy statistical data" regarding the status of this particular minority during the totalitarian regime (not just pertaining to their religious views), because "it was almost impossible to carry out field research during the communist regime."[5] Some of the data have been obtained from testimonies of community leaders: "At the founding meeting of FER [The Ethnic Federation of Roma people, founded in 1990], we had Onoriu and Gabi Luncă, there was Boldor from Baia Mare, who was also a member of the Pentecostal community [...] I had felt some sort of attraction to Roma Evangelical faithfuls ["Biserica Creștină după Evanghelie", the Romanian branch of the Brethren Church], because I had attended Pentecostal gatherings before 1990. Whenever we were about to eat food brought by one of the attendees from home, there would be a prayer such as those said by our pastors, with God, blessing..."[6].

In the effervescence created by the fall of communism, (very) famous Gypsies, already converted (such as Ion Onoriu and his wife, Gabi Luncă, famous Lăutari/traditional Romani musicians) publicly expressed their adhesion to evangelical denominations, becoming role models for other congeners. Nonetheless,

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[4] Bodeanu, D.F.,*"Între libertate și persecuție". Credincioșii baptiști din România între 1948/1989. Studiu de caz: comunitatea Cluj* ['Betwen Freedom and Persecution'. Baptist Faithfuls in Romania between 1949 and 1989. Case Study: the Cluj Community],"Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală" (subsequently AIO) VIII (2007): 81-116; Bodeanu, D.F., *Neoprotestanții din Transilvania în timpul regimului comunist. Studiu de caz: baptiștii din județul Cluj – Mărturii și documente* [Neoprotestants of Transylvania during the Communist Regime. Case Study: Baptists of Cluj county – Testimonies and Documents], Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007; Bodeanu, D.F.,*Cultul Baptist din Transilvania între 1948-1989 în memoria colectivă (jud. Cluj, Maramureș, Bistrița-Năsăud și Sălaj)* [The Baptist Denomination in Transylvania between 1948 and 1989 in Collective Memory (counties of Cluj, Maramureș, Bistrița-Năsăud and Sălaj)],PhD diss., Babeș-Bolyai University, 2009; Bodeanu, D. and V., Valentin, eds.,*Afacerea Evanghelistul. Vizita lui Billy Graham în România (1985)* [The Evangelist Affair. Billy Graham's Visit to Romania (1985)], Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2010. Other significant works are: Gavriș, M., *Aspecte privind situatia Bisericii Adventiste din România în perioada 1965-1989* [Aspects regarding the Status of the Adventist Church of Romania between 1965 and 1989], AIOVI (2005): 241-261; Neagoe-Pleșa, E., and L. Pleșa, *Cultele neoprotestante din România în perioada 1975-1989* [Neoprotestant Denominations in Romania between 1975 and 1989], *Partidul, Securitatea și Cultele: 1945-1989* (A.N. Petcu, ed.), București: Nemira, 2005: 350-394; Pop, S., *The Socio-Cultural Space of Pentecostalism in Present-Day Transylvania: Dynamics of Religious Pluralization in Post-Communist Romania*, "Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Sociologia" LIV/2 (2009): 141-158; Sântămărean, D.,*Imaginea creștinului penticostal în perioada comunistă* [The Image of the Pentecostal Christian during the Communist Period], AIO VIII (2007): 117-132; Vlase, M., *Viața și practica religioasă a comunității creștin penticostale din Cluj-Napoca în perioada dictaturii comuniste* [Life and Religious Practice of the Pentecostal Christian Community of Cluj-Napoca during the Communist Dictatorship], AIO III (2002): 134-156; Vlase, M., *Rolul femeii creștine penticostale în viața și practica cultului* [The Role of the Pentecostal Christian Woman in the Life and Practice of the Denomination], AIO IV (2003): 68-84.

[5] Fosztó and Anăstăsoaie 2009: 70.

[6] Gheorghe 2012:299.

the majority of Roms came into contact with the teachings of Evangelical Protestantism along with everyone else. Pentecostalism has distinguished itself among conversion options – in Romania it is the most common Evangelical denomination by far. A decade after the Revolution, beside having their own churches, the latter have established a national hierarchical structure. "February 2000, Târgu Mureş. The first national conference of Pentecostal Roms is organized, bringing together 200 Roma pastors. The gathering is presided by pastor Petru Rad, president of the Union of Apostolic Christian Associations of Romania. Various issues of Pentecostal Roms are discussed, such as the lack of prayer houses and the necessity of building such establishments, as well as the opportunity of setting up a denomination of Romanian Roms (*Asul de treflă* [a journal edited by Roma Pro Europa Party], VIII/82, 2000, p. 12)"[7].

Nonetheless, the information regarding the number of practicing Evangelical Roms remains scattered. Evangelical churches record baptized members, but not their ethnic background. In places where communities are ethnically homogenous and (more) numerous, an ethnic based inventory can be set up. Sociological studies carried out during the past 25 years feature some information for certain settlements or (restricted) territories. We shall mention here the studies of L. Fosztó, *Colecţie de studii despre romii din România* [Collection of Studies on Romanian Roms] (2009); S. Gog, *Religie şi strategii identitare la populaţia de etnie rromă* [Religion and Identity Strategies for the Roma Population] (2007); D. Kiss, *Romii din Herculian şi rolul religiei penticostale în viaţa lor comunitară* [The Roms of Herculian and the Role of Pentecostal Religion in the Life of the Community] (2009); T. Lőrinczi, *The Representation of the Self-Concepts Within the Adventist Romani Community from Etéd* (2013); M. Olivera, *Romanes: tradiţia integrării la romii gabori din Transilvania/La tradition de l'intégration. Une ethnologie des Roms Gabori dans les années 2000* (2012).

Most of Pentecostal, Adventist and Baptist Roms reside in Transylvania, Crişana and Banat, which are well-known fiefs of evangelical denominations. The *Gabori* (mostly residing in Transylvania) perceive themselves overwhelmingly as Adventists and Pentecostal[8]; although *until the 60s there hadn't been any 'Neoprotestants' among us*[9], nowadays, the *Gabori* community is the Roma group counting the most repenters.

Capitalizing on an oral history archive dedicated to Roms living in Romania[10], this research paper aims at expanding the interpretation grid of the repentance

[7] Matei2016: 77-78.

[8] Gabi Gabor, male (b. 1958), freelancer, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Oradea (Bihor county), June 12, 2016.

[9] B.Q., male, freelancer, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan in Ceuaşu de Cîmpie (Mureş county), July 8, 2015.

[10] Further "OHIA", the archive belongs to the Oral History Institute of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania and includes interviews produced within the research project "The Untold Story. An Oral History of the Roma in Romania".

phenomenon among this population. Broadly, Roms perceive and experience repentance similarly to their fellow countrymen. However, the peculiarities of the many Roma groups are still obvious within (and contribute to) the new religious culture which shapes the communities of converted. Taken together, as a group or as a community, converted Roms are perceived, by the same fellow countrymen, as the beneficiaries of an image enhancing and sometimes social enhancing experience. The positive assessment, however, does not considerably shift the attitude of the majority population, who keep on cultivating a distancing from what they perceive as a marginal group. For the converted, social refraction resulted from their decision is not truly important. What really matters is the shaping of a new, moral life whose impact is seen in their personal and/or community-wide daily habits. We are interested in the means in which this spiritual afflux finds its place in the life of the Roma people. The analysis took into account narratives gathered from various groups (traditional and assimilated to different extents) whose common denominator was the undertaken religious experience and its interference with the Roma identity.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The main tool of "The Untold Story. An Oral History of the Roma People in Romania" project is an interview guide which includes – besides topics such as recent history, ethnic identity, cultural heritage, economic surviving strategies – a section dedicated to religious identity. It explores issues pertaining to individual and community faith practices, the self-perception of religious confessions, the relationship with the Church, the perception of interfaith marriages. Our study surveys several dozens of narratives, obtained from individuals converted to Pentecostalism, Baptism and Adventism and uses quotes from 20 interviews. The interviewees reside in strong repenters' communities (mainly from the counties of Mureș and Sălaj, Transylvania) and originate both from conservative groups (such as the *Gabori)* and from Romanianized Gypsy groups. Many times, interviewees showed more interest in the topic of conversion than in other topics tackled during the interview; it is seen as a threshold which splits their lives in two distinctive periods, the life "in the world" and the life dedicated to God. Repentance is described in full detail, with its different stages (the "probing" stage, the act of baptizing, the abandonment of certain habits and the adoption of new ones), and narratives are very emotional. Recounting their personal conversion experiences, a number of interviewees made long digressions about the Bible, religion, the relationship between man and God, the influence of repentance on their ethnic community.

From the viewpoint of the reception of the phenomenon, the researcher (but also people actively involved with their own denomination) perceives conversion first and foremost from a formal perspective, i.e. as conversion from one

denomination or religion to another. For repenters, what is important is not the official name or description of the church they have joined but rather the essence of their conversion, the way in which they have discovered and in which they practise the spirituality with which they resonate. The interviewees identify themselves as "repenters", not as Pentecostals, Baptists etc. This typology, mostly used by scholars, is unknowned to them and has little relevance to the converted. Furthermore, whenever they speak of the "born-again" experience, Roms only rarely link it to their ethnic culture (more examples are available from conservative Roms). As a matter of fact, while scholars use the term *conversion,* the protagonists speak of *repentance,* a blend of experiences, ideas and feelings which hint at *epiphany, metanoia, hierophany.* People speak about miraculous situations (experienced by themselves or related by family, friends, neighbours etc.) in direct language, in the conviction that God has intervened in a miraculous and saving way in their lives. The extraordinary nature of the spiritual experiences they have undergone is clearly reflected in their discourse: in many cases the topic of repentance forms a constant leitmotiv of the conversation between researcher and interviewee. At such moments the latter perceives him- or herself to be on very personal ground, and his or her account transgresses the theme proposed by the researcher at the beginning of the interview, that is, an overview of the Roma community.

FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

The advance of other forms of confessional identity was also facilitated by a lack of overt adherence to the principal Christian denominations (Orthodoxy and Catholicism in particular). In the case of Roma who turn to evangelicalism, their conversion forms the subject of a complex interpretational grid, since the phenomenon has to be regarded not only as an individual experience but also from the perspective of membership of an ethnic group with a unique history and multiple issues. To be sure, the ethnic component is not always clearly delimitable in every recorded instance in the living-out of the new religious identity. In other cases, however, conversion triggers reflection on the relationship of Roma with other ethnic groups, on the interaction between the principles of the newly adopted religion and the ethnic culture, and on the peripheral historical status of Roms (disrespect shown by society, low educational level, poverty) and on visible changes in the socio-economic status of the interviewee(s) in their area of residence: "Fosztó [László] illuminates a complex mix of economic and social factors inducing Roma to convert to Pentecostalism in the village which he studied in Transylvania (2009). Economic dislocation in the aftermath of socialism has been a significant factor in the renewed importance that people attach to religion; but this link is too complex to be reduced to a rational choice framework"[11].

[11] Hann 2010: 17.

A noteworthy aspect of Evangelicalism is its accessibility, an effect of its simple forms of worship and practice, in contrast with those of the major Western and Eastern Christian churches, which the Roma describe as being too complex and difficult to understand. The latter invite believers to make ever-increasing efforts at self-improvement, with the aid of the sacraments. Evangelical movements make their appeal to prospective/future believers without the use of complex messages. The nature of Pentecostal-type missionary work constitutes a partial explanation of the success of this denomination among the Roma. Traditional Christianity – one of its principles being that Jesus Christ is to be found only by those who seek Him – emerges from the accounts as outclassed by the proactive offer of Evangelicalism. Here and there the narratives acknowledge how flattering it is that some religious organisations show interest in Roma people and their economic issues and are willing to offer moral and sometimes material support. In such instances one can generally establish a link between conversion and the narrator's deficient relationship with their former church. Some converts express a conviction that it is the duty of the state or of the church to help them overcome the financial issues they face. The harsh persecution of evangelical preaching under the Ceauşescu regime[12] and the primacy in multicultural areas of denominations other than Orthodoxy are not mentioned. The welfare beneficiary mentality is not limited to Roma people, but it is strongly associated with this group and is linked to with a greater or lesser degree of poverty. *They expect you to bring aid packages. But you don't have to begin with packages. You can bring a word from God.*[13] For some people (in fact, this does not only apply to Roms), aid received from "Christian" and "Evangelical" organisations has been enough to convince them to abandon their inherited religious confession. These people are the first to reduce (or drop altogether) their attendance at meetings when the aid ("presents") stops arriving. In such cases, representatives of the majority society criticise and condemn the fickleness of Roma people and their willingness to change their allegiance: "even at the academic level it is believed that, formally, Roma people adhere to the religion of the neighbouring majority population in order to avoid exclusion or even coercion"[14].

The limited number of case studies undertaken in Romania, almost exclusively by social science experts (we mentioned already L. Fosztó , D. Kiss, M. Olivera and T. Lőrinczi), tend to support the thesis that moving to Evangelical denominations improves the image and conditions of life of some Roma groups/communities. To demonstrate this, one would need to also take into account the following aspects. Firstly, there are no similar studies on the relationship of Roma people with other types of religious spirituality that involve conversion.[15] Furthermore, there are

[12] Ibidem.

[13] B.Q.

[14] Zăloagă, 2015: 161.

[15] There is an interesting account by Constantin Gătin of the evangelical baptising of Muslim Roms in Dobruja (*Ţiganii horahai din Babadag. Actori raţionali şi stat minimal* [The Horahai Gypsies of Babadag. Rational Actors and the Minimal State], 2007, unpublished report) (excerpts from this can be found in Rughiniş, 2008).

Roma communities in which conversion to Evangelicalism has not produced visible changes; others are very new to the experience, which means that the effects ought to be assessed over the longer term. Last but not least, a profound knowledge of repentance must take into account both personal characteristics and experiences and the relationship of the repented group with other converts. There are cases where Roma communities have preferred to segregate themselves from brothers in faith with a different ethnic origin (see the example of the Roma Baptist church of Oradea, which separated from the Hungarian Baptist Church – field information, June 10, 2016); in other circumstances, in settlements with mixed population, Romanians and/or Hungarians have triggered the seggregation of religious gatherings, so that the Roms were forced to build their own church.

MEANS OF ACCESSING/ADOPTING EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS

Pastors (some of them originally Hungarian Reformed) who were persecuted by the authorities made a major contribution to the winning of converts.

He was a parson and an Adventist, he was imprisoned before, during [unclear: Stalin]. *Our family would gather here, in Budiu* [...] *in hiding. Nobody knew. He would come to us and teach us about God. About faith. In hiding, at night, when it was already dark. But people in the village were unaware. He would come to the Gypsies. Only to Gypsies, to Gypsy families. One night, he would come here, with all of us, another night he would go to another family. We would all gather there*[16].

Missionaries cultivated the background of "free Christianity" that is characteristic of semi-nomadic groups, adherents of various denominations but attending churches (Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant etc.) only intermittently. "The elderly were believers but they wouldn't really go to church because the others were not happy with Gypsies going to their church'[17]. This non-standard and unrestricted way of practising Christianity resulted from a combination of factors: the more or less manifest exclusion of Roma people from traditional churches; the nomadic lifestyle of a number of Roma groups, which prevented the development of any long-term (or profound) relationship with ecclesiastical institutions; the connotation given by the Roma to Divinity ("Unlike the conception of the Good held by the Christian, born a sinner, the Roma 'good' is that of the Roma born *baxtalo*. 'The Good Lord', *o lasho Del*, is not the Lord of this Good, He is, in a way, its Essence. Maybe this will help us better understand L. Piasere's enigmatic assertion [...]: '[God] does not seem to depend on any being, but on *baj(t)* (luck, fate), which, according to some, He cannot elude'")[18].

[16] Cătălina Gabor, female (b. 1961), housewife, interview conducted by Diana Nistor inTîrgu Mureş (Mureş county), July 7, 2015.

[17] Mate Gabor, male (b. 1949), interview in Tîrgu-Mureş (Mureş county), in Sala 2007: 21.

[18] Olivera, 2012: 316.

It is within this context that the appeal of Evangelicalism was well received, as well as through its strategy of promoting the sense of social equality that Roma people lack.

Who cares about the Gypsies? They live on the outskirts of villages, there is a church in each village but they don't go. If they do go, people avoid them. But it's easier not to go to church, you can watch TV or go to the game. Without the fear of God they have no hope or they don't know. And those poor people are left with their sins. Something must be done for them. You should go, you should speak to them[19].

Once exposed to the preachers' discourse, some Roma discovered that they were in a special situation, experiencing a form of equality which they could not enjoy in everyday life and which, once it had been revealed to them, they wanted to preserve and cultivate. In the Pentecostal or Adventist denominations, the Gabori, for example, enjoyed "the respect they deserved in church"[20], and their power-based traditional structure was replicated in religious congregations. In other words, the authority of ethnic community leaders (wealthy people from respected families) was transferred/expanded into the evangelical church, with church leaders being recruited from among them[21].

Another means of appealing to Roma believers was (is) the use of the languages spoken by the communities. *What do you think? He also taught us Romani. He taught us Romani songs and he studied with us.* (Where did he learn Romani?)– *With us. Each night, we would pray with him. We didn't pray only one night, but every night*[22]. In congregations in the areas where *Romunguri/Romungro* (a Roma group who speak Hungarian and Romanian) live together with Romanians and Hungarians, religious services are held alternately in Romanian and in Hungarian, because they speak and/or understand both languages. The preponderance of Hungarian relates more to the period of the Communist regime[23].

(What language did [the pastor] speak?) – *Hungarian, Romanian.* (But was he Hungarian, or...?) – *He was Hungarian, Hungarian. I was only six years old back then but I had also learned Hungarian prayers. I have never forgotten them, ever since. And I have taught them to my girls as well* [her children]. *And I'm trying with my son to translate them into our mother tongue, because it is more complicated to learn Romani*[24].

There are also places where services are held in the Romani dialect of the group, which proves the cohesion of the converted community. "July 7 2003, Săcele. The inauguration of a Pentecostal church where services are held exclusively in Romani. The number of Pentecostals Roms in our town is evaluated

[19] B.Q.
[20] Sala 2007: 22.
[21] Ibidem.
[22] Cătălina Gabor.
[23] Vincze, 2011: 16.
[24] Cătălina Gabor.

at 2000 people (Inforrom, III, nr. 571/8.07.2003)"[25]. In churches with tri-lingual believers (speaking Hungarian, Romani and Romanian), the mother tongue (in songs) alternates with Hungarian (used mostly for sermons and for explaining teachings).The available printed versions of the Bible are in Romanian and Hungarian, and these are used by Roma believers both in private and in church. At least one version of the New Testament in Romani is available online[26], but interviewees do not mention knowing it or accessing it.

(Do you have the Bible translated into Romani?) – *No, we don't. We only have it in Romanian.*[27] – (Undisclosed): *We have something like this, a small one* [book] *but I don't know...*[28]

ROMA MARRIAGES BETWEEN TRADITION AND FAITH

Among the numerous Roma groups, accession to the evangelical world has had more visible effects on the most conservative communities, such as the *Gabori*, *Căldărari* (coppersmiths), and *Bumbăcari* (a subgroup originating in Harghita county and similar to *Gabori*), and on the occupation-based communities (*Lăutari*, musicians), for the reason that it challenges deeply-held customs. One of these involves the age of marriage, traditionally taking place between adolescents or even children. Postponing marriage to a more mature age has been described as an obligation, either explicitly communicated by pastors[29] or suggested/recommended. The main reasoning concerns the damage done to the health of Roma girls, who often give birth long before they reach physical maturity, or even miscarry (the same explanation has been provided by traditional Orthodox Roma, with parents agreeing to wait one or two years longer). Interviewees also speak of the influence exerted by culture external to the group, with its focus on the needs of children in families in post-communist Romania. It is difficult to assess to what extent the *Gabori*and *Cortorari* (tent dwellers) adhere to their pastors' recommendations. On the one hand we are witnessing an ongoing phenomenon which operates differently from one community to another. On the other hand, for many interviewees, the norms of Evangelicalism are either not fully grasped or only partially adopted. Consequently, they see no sharp contradiction between the tradition they belong to and the religious denomination in which they want to be seen as responsible, active and involved believers.

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[25] Matei 2016: 111.

[26] *O novo kontrakto*, *Noul Testament în ţigăneşte*2014).

[27] B. P., female (b. 1978), housewife, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan in Budiu Mic (Mureş county), July 6, 2015.

[28] For a clearer image of the Romani texts used in evangelical denominations, see https://groups.yahoo.com/ neo/groups/natminet/conversations/messages/3266, https://groups.yahoo.com/ neo/groups/natminet/conversations/topics/3303 and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kkGaKXdBJT8.

[29] DejőMaladaj, male (b. 1974), freelancer, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Zalău (Sălaj county), February 26, 2015.

After repentance, marriages are judged through the filter of religion. The precepts of the Holy Book give direction and it is believed that they should guide the building and outworking of marriage, because *we find everything in the Bible. About marriage, [and] about work.*[30] The Holy Scriptures offer guidance when one fails or when one needs to make a decision. Marriage becomes a problematic and disputed topic; we find narrators preoccupied with the quality of the relationship between spouses, as well as with the image and role of couples in a world seen as dissolute.

What is marriage in fact? Marriage is not something that one can play with. It is a, a thing that... holds society together. Because if marriage didn't exist, mankind would not exist anymore, right? Marriage should be between a man and a woman. Unfortunately, this is also being turned upside down now a days. Like with homosexuals. I have nothing against them. Because if somebody is born that way, you can't... But this is a state which will destroy mankind. Because if you hadn't had a mother and a father, you would not have existed. But how can they have children? If somebody is born a homosexual, they should seek healing, get themselves cured. They shouldn't ask for rights, this is nasty, it is nasty for two men to make love. And they even do it publicly, when in fact they should feel ashamed .And look, in other countries they already have rights. Sweden, France, the Netherlands and now America. I believe that something, something is not right here. Something is not. There are supernatural powers at work. Devilish powers. As the Bible says, doctrines of demons[31].

Another aspect in which Evangelicalism comes into conflict with Roma tradition is that of marriages outside one's own faith group. The ancient practice of parents choosing life partners for their children takes into account aspects such as origin (the spouse should belong to the same subgroup and preferably be from the same area, *I want to know who the parents are*[32]), membership of a "good lineage" (i.e. clan), and good economic status. Conversion to Evangelicalism has made religion too an issue. When it becomes more important to be a Pentecostal or a Baptist than a *Gabor* or *Cărămizar* (brick-maker), this means that the hierarchy of the components of the identity construct has been re-ordered.

I went to church [Seventh Day Adventist]. *When I was 12 or 13 I joined the so-called junior section. I was already a big girl, of age. They gave me a gift, I was studying the Bible, I took lessons, everything. I was top of my class. All the repenters loved me. When father betrothed me, all the repenters argued with him: How could you betroth her like that to someone 'from the world'? It's forbidden for a repenter to marry someone 'from the world', this is how things were then. He wasn't a repenter, and neither were his parents, only his grandparents. He would*

[30] B.Q.

[31] B.Q.

[32] D.C., female (b. 1975), cleaner, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Zalău (Sălaj county), March 1, 2016.

drink, smoke, this is how it was. He would eat pork. They told him, you betrothed her to someone you shouldn't have. You should have waited one or two more years. So there I was, married at the age of 14 [laughs][33].

The members of the Adventist church were critical of the early age of the marriage – although according to the *Gabori* tradition, adolescence is the (most) appropriate age for marriage[34]. They objected more strongly to the fact that this was a marriage with someone belonging to 'the world', i.e. to a different denomination. What is understood and accepted as *Gypsy tradition* up to the moment of conversion[35] becomes, after it, *a sin before God!*[36] *Gypsies* betroth their daughters in order *to gain money and gold!*[37], ignoring the fact that *it affects them, they embark on a destructive journey at such a young age*[38]. Marriage thus appears closely linked to two fundamental values of conservative Roms, descendents and gold: *We married, we worked together, we made gold, we made children!*[39] The evangelicals here distance themselves from their fellow-Gypsies, whom they regard as slaves to an outworn custom and as taking no interest in the feelings and well-being of their offspring.

It is a sin before God to [marry girls off] at such a young age. But this is the way they are, they are worried that they might lose their place, that they won't find anyone. (What place?) – *Someone with a good lineage, so that the girl would be well off there*[40].

Conversion also reshapes the features of the material cultural heritage in cases in which this represents a self-defining brand of Roma groups. In the Romanian collective mentality, traditional clothing and jewellery constantly come up as important features in discussions about *Căldărari* and *Gabori* communities. These Roma groups cherish such items as a significant aspect of their tangible cultural heritage. However, in the eyes of pastors the value of tradition represents only something material and ostentatious, which is why they recommend or even insist that this clothing and jewellery be given up. *If you attempt to undermine their traditions, they get very angry!*[41]This is how a Pentecostal *Gabor* describes an experience relating to his ethnic community in the Harghita region. The rate at

[33] B.P.

[34] *In our community it is a shame not to get married at an early age; they say time flies, you get old, it's a shame.* – Anonymous, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Bistreț (Dolj county), August 7, 2015.

[35] LuminițaBumbai, female (b. 1987), housewife, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Bistreț (Dolj county), August 7, 2015.

[36] Anonymous.

[37] Anonymous.

[38] Luminița Bumbai.

[39] Elena Bimbai, female (b. 1950), housewife, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Bistreț (Dolj county), August 7, 2015.

[40] B.P.

[41] Informal discussion with a former official of Roma Party „Pro-Europe", Timișoara (Timiș county), May 27, 2016.

which showy jewellery is abandoned is linked to the ability of the religious leader to convince Roma of the importance of being similar to other believers not only in behaviour but also in appearance. Therefore changing the Roma image differs from one evangelical community to another and must be understood via examining the relationship between the converted Roma and their spiritual guide. Some subgroups of *Căldărari* (for example, the *Lăieți*) choose to give up the gold coins formerly worn as part of women's dress; we are led to believe – from how naturally some of our female interviewees speak about the topic – that they have internalised this as a further confirmation of their repentance. The effects of image reshaping, under the influence of conversion, reflect a negotiation between an immemorial prescribed identity (the traditional Roma) and a newly acquired identity (Roma repenter). This negotiation is not a question of fashion but rather marks the woman's status in a hermetic world of groups whose existence depends on pre-established rules. "Clothing, together with a particular hairdo, 'asserts' the marital status, age and physical development stages of women within Cortorari communities"[42]. Respecting the dress habits of one's ancestors transposes fitting in with the ethnic culture, "respect for others and for oneself"[43]: if someone breaches the custom[44], that person will be sanctioned (which might even involve physical exclusion from the community). Despite some concessions (i.e. the exclusion of massive gold jewels), tradition remains strong where clothing is concerned since it is a reflection of gender statuses within Roma microcultures and, implicitly, of the strict rules of social conduct. Last but not least, traditional clothes evoke a past characterised by the privileges granted by Prince Gabriel (Gábor) Bethlen, according to which the *Gabori* were allowed "to wear a cloth hat, whereas other categories, such as Romanian peasants in Transylvania, were only allowed to wear sheepskin caps": this was a reward for the weapons and boilers they manufactured[45]. Few *Gabori* know this history, but the group continues to justify their choice to dress "like Gypsies" as a sign of veneration for the elders who imposed and passed on their dress code.

GOD, REPENTANCE AND THE OTHERS

For people with an intense spiritual life, the enthusiasm of revelation marks the narration. For example, interviewees may include their religious identity when introducing themselves, without being asked about it by the interviewer. *I was born in 1987, I am from the town of Segarcea, I am married here, in Bistreț, I have three*

[42] Tesăr 2011: 290.

[43] Sala 2007: 39

[44] „Thin high heels and sports clothes are banned, based on the principle that 'the gabori only wear Gypsy clothes'" – interview with Iancu Burcea, male (b. 1961), Crăciunești, Mureș county (Sala 2007: 51).

[45] Gheorghe 2012: 332.

children, my husband is...a repenter[46]. Even though she has not undergone her baptism yet, she sees herself as on an unequivocal trajectory, on a path dedicated to Divinity instead of to mundane objectives and desires.

I shall repent myself as well, with the help of God. We follow our Lord Jesus Christ, and we shall follow Him all of our lives, until the day of His coming. You know...our life as Roma is more difficult! Because...as Romanians are educated, they go to University. They can find jobs, have their businesses...We, the Roma, have a harder life! Because...Not because we don't have much education! That is not the most important thing. I mean, it is important...but it doesn't help us much because...It makes no difference to us! We don't know, we have no jobs! Steady jobs!

According to the narrator, Romanians and Gypsies have had a different historical evolution. And this difference cannot even be overcome by the brotherly love promoted amongst/by Christians.

When I first interacted with the Hungarians [Hungarian Pentecostals], *everybody said, 'She's a Gypsy' and stuff like that. Do you know what I told that woman? The one who offended me. 'Yes, I am Gypsy. 100%! I never pretend* [otherwise]. *I am proud to be Gypsy!! What's important is to be human' I told her. 'Madam, look at me! Please', I said, 'look at me. How many noses do I have?' 'One.' 'How many ears do I have?' 'Two' 'Is it so? How about you, how many do you have?' 'The same number'. I say, 'I too was created by God and I have a soul, a heart, just like you have! Even if I am Gypsy'*[47].

The results of repentance can be seen both at the personal and at the group (ethnic) levels, but individual change does not bring about, at least not at the group level, an improvement in social relationships between people of different origins. The essence of the negative experience of single individuals is, in fact, symptomatic for the entire group to which they belong.

I have interacted a lot with people. So I know how it is to talk to anyone. No-one likes Gypsies! No-one. No. Because we were thrown away. And even though I am – or some of us are – more educated, with larger houses, cleaner, they still say 'He's a Gypsy'!! They don't respect us today[48].

This does not mean that there are no examples of good practice between different cultures and ethnic groups. But mentioning them is not what shapes the narrative of converts weighing up two traditional categories of the concept of identity, that is, blood ties on the one hand and religion on the other. The perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes has also reached the Romanian evangelical community. Certain churches made up chiefly of Roma have been forced to look for/establish separate congregations.

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[46] LuminiţaBumbai.

[47] Magdalena Lakatoş, female (b. 1960), retired, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Zalău (Sălaj county), February 27, 2016.

[48] Magdalena Lakatoş.

From 1990 until a few months ago, Roma people, Serbs, Romanians and others...had allattended a Pentecostal meeting. The same church. Now, they have thrown out the Gypsies. (Who?) – *The mayor. And the great majority are Gypsies, those who attend the gathering. Also, the community* [of the village] *is mostly made up of Gypsies. He wants to apply for a grant, European funds, to build for Gypsies – because the Roma minority are a target group for social inclusion grants and are eligible – a new church in the centre. They want the money for the city hall in order to use it just as they please. And we said, 'No, Sir. We have always attended this church and this is where we stay!' I went to him with my mate, and I was thrown out of the church*[49].

Quite a number of interviewees are sceptical about the possibility of reducing the social gap between themselves and other ethnic groups. In their view, the belief that love should be extended to everyone, regardless of their ethnic and social origin, is not borne out in fact. This is because from the perspective of many brothers in the faith they are seen firstly as Roma people or Gypsies and only secondly as repenters. This rejection is due to a historical marginalisation which painted them as undesirable and demonised.

Right now, we don't even have jobs provided, we don't have anything. And especially us,Gypsies. We are punished by God. We used to be...we used to be the [same] *as Negroes, blacks before the first Revolution in America. We were serfs until that point. Long ago, by the rich – when we were no longer able to work – we were given to the priests.* [...] *We would live off the charity of the village. Or off pity: off the pity of the community where we lived*[50].

In Socialist Romania, it was easier for Roms to find jobs; this is why many interviewees (today retired) are nostalgic for the times when *you could earn your daily bread*[51]. The communist era seems to have been a good (if not the best) time for Roms from the point of view of social equity and of a stable/guaranteed economic status.

During communism, yes, people would show us respect. I worked for many years in a restaurant and no one ever insulted me.[52] The equality of the times when *it wasn't even allowed to call someone Gypsy*[53] can nowadays be found in evangelical churches where Roma people join other ethnic groups, but with (many?) exceptions:

The lady who had called me a Gypsy apologized [to me]. *'Please excuse me, madam.Sister!''No, I'm not your sister! Since you didn't say it from the beginning,*

[49] Marian Pisică, male (b. 1967), public servant, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Timişoara (Timiş county), December 15, 2015.

[50] Horko Bella, male (b. 1960), retired, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan, in Satu Nou (Mureş county), July 3, 2015.

[51] Horko Bella

[52] Magdalena Lakatoş.

[53] Viorel Marin, male (b. 1959), farmer, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Bechet (Dolj county), August 11, 2015.

I am not your sister! Because you felt a sort of disgust! Towards me, because you knew I was a Gypsy. But I don't stink – I told her – I'm clean, my dear. The only difference is that I'm a bit darker, but this dark face of mine is very sensitive! Don't you ever forget that'[54].

BENEFITS/GAINS OF REPENTANCE

This constant isolation from social interaction does not paralyse the entire community. Certain interviewees believe that 'repentance' has already brought about tangible improvements in the Roma world. Roma who have become pastors and preachers (or informal leaders of the evangelical community), people who have a deep knowledge of the range, specificities and problems of converted communities, are particularly strong in militating for the continuation of changes. It is often they who are positive about the relationship between ethnic identity and religious identity.

For the Gabori, the Bible has helped a lot. The word of God. And this helps all peoples. This is why we have made this decision to evangelise Roma people. But [laughs], *this is why I am smiling, maybe you are laughing at me. But who are we, simple people, to do anything for the Roma?*[55].

The mass migration of *Gabori* to the evangelicals is regarded by the narrator as an improvement in the very existence and moral consciousness of the group. Through the word of God, these conservatives have managed to understand and accept the need for formal education, as well as the benefits of permanent and regular gainful employment.

We're not saying that we have reached the [desired] *level, we should have reached a higher level. But, praise be to the Lord, we are not in the situation we were once in. And we believe that our children should be educated, they should go to school, they should study, be hardworking and useful to the community.*

Evangelicalism is perceived as a civilising project that allows for fruitful collaboration between pastors and Roma groups. This continuous improvement does not create benefits for the *Gabori* alone but also for the entire body politic. Roma people – regardless of whether they are *Gabori* or belong to some other group – are part of society, with the same rights and obligations as all citizens.

Because the country you live in is your country and this is where you have to love... And not touch anything that isn't yours. I was walking the other day, when I saw some sour cherries. And I was tempted to take one. But I said no. If you allow yourself to take one, you'll want another one. No, what's not yours, you shouldn't take. It can be done. No. This was the weakness of our kin. Our children must learn. If you want something, work in order to get it; if not, ask for it, but don't steal.[56]

[54] Magdalena Lakatoș.
[55] B.Q.
[56] B.Q.

This principle, while also present in non-religious education, is attributed to the Bible, perceived by repenters as the sole source of theological knowledge (they reject the Holy Tradition of the Orthodox and Catholic systems). Interviewees associate the Holy Scripture with their initiation into the faith.

I went to the Adventist Church and this is where I got the Bible. They would give me texts from the Bible and I would go home and complain and say – you know, when I was going to church – I would ask the girls or the sisters, Sister, how should I do this? And she would teach me. It was there that I began reading the Bible. So this is not a shame, because I like doing this.[57]

A number of interviewees perceive the studying, understanding and acceptance of God's words as means through which Roma can become better people (and can have a better life), both at the personal and social levels. Having faith in the power of God, they are in favour of a change initiated from within the Gypsy communities. Change entails a different approach to social relations, i.e. setting out to help others. In religious terms, this translates into loving your neighbour, regardless of their ethnic origin, skin colour, language or customs.

First and foremost, you should love your nation. We love everybody, Romanians, Hungarians, as I said, the Sun shines for everyone. The air is for everyone, regardless whether they are Romanian, Hungarian. Everybody must have access to oxygen. The same goes for the word of God[58].

This love for one's neighbour is something that was practised in the past too, irrespective of one's faith and taking into account the importance of religious life in the rural world. There have always been good-neighbourly relationships between Roms and Saxons, for example. Under the impact of by conversion, the study of the Holy Scripture is invoked as a guiding principle for inter-ethnic and interconfessional relations.

It is better, as the Bible says, it is better to give than to take. [...] *She had gardens* [Saxon neighbour]. *'Come, Cătălina, let me get some potatoes together for you. Quick, take a bagof potatoes, take some carrots for your children too. Do you have enough to eat?' I tell her, 'I do, I do.' 'Do you have oil? Do you have sugar? Because I have plenty. I receive it from Germany. Can I give you anything?' What was this? This was love.* [...] *I receive kindness and a good deed from you, then I need to show that I do something in return, right?*[59]

As a general statement, conversion to an evangelical denomination is not followed by immediate or surprisingly radical changes. Obvious shifts are seen in communities where mass conversions trigger the adoption of a new practical and thrifty lifestyle. Religious motivation brings about economic motivation[60]. People

[57] B.P.

[58] B.Q.

[59] Cătălina Gabor.

[60] M. P., male (b. 1977), former social worker, interview conducted by SînzianaPreda in Zalău (Sălaj county), March 1, 2016.

travel abroad and the result of their work changes the landscape of the town (new or redecorated houses and homesteads with all kinds of improvements).

In fact it was the Bible that revealed that you should work, wasn't it? Not just rest. How much you should work and how much you should rest. You should work for six days and on the seventh day give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's[61].

Sometimes a particular social status is considered to be the result of divine goodness. In a vision that almost evokes the emergence of mankind from prehistory, the narrator describes progress in an area inhabited by Roma people.

They are no longer [people no longer live] *in dirt and hovels. They have become civilised.They have built such big houses out of those big bricks. You should see how civilised people have become.* (How do you think they have managed to become civilised?) – *What do you mean? God gave them wisdom. The power of God is at work. It was a swamp, as the Bible says, and God showed them the light. It is true that not everyone there* [in the community] *has adopted the faith* [Adventism], *but there are plenty of them*[62].

The local authorities in a town whose outskirts had been inhabited by *Gabori* for several decades, living in poor conditions on a landfill site, invested in the sanitisation of the area[63]. Following the allocation to them of building plots by the local council, the fate of the Roma has improved by means of human intervention, generated – as the converted *Gabori* believe – by the will of God.

The conversion of the *Gabori* to Seventh Day Adventism and Pentecostalism reached its peak in the decades after 1989. The process had begun under the communist regime, but it was slow at the beginning due to the rejection by the state of these denominations, which were considered to be "cults", and to the reserved attitude of those generations: "'I was young when the first Gabor repented and the news spread quickly. I remember that everyone was talking about it, but the Gabori didn't oppose him, because he didn't hurt anyone. They said it was his own business and left him alone'"[64]. At that time, no-one suspected the influence that an outside denomination would one day have on the only religion known and practised by the traditional/ist Roma, i.e. Tradition. This was also due to the means by which the evangelical creeds have been adopted in Romania. Thus the conversion of the homogenous communities of today (that is, ones that are 100% Pentecostal, Adventist, or Baptist) has occurred gradually, little by little, through a subtle mechanism based on personal conviction and imitation, rather than on unquestioning inheritance from earlier generations, as was the case with the corpus of tradition. By addressing their appeal to the individual self, the new denominations have enabled individuals to feel that they are entering into a very

[61] B.Q.
[62] Cătălina Gabor.
[63] Cioineag 2011.
[64] Iancu Burcea, in Sala 2007: 23.

personal and personalised relationship with Divinity and to believe that God speaks to them and is concerned with their problems – something unobtainable from any other source. At the same time, the discovery of religious spirituality has provided a "breathing space" for the members of groups tightly hemmed in by rules (covering both the private and the community sphere) the breaking of which is often severely punished.

On a personal level, harmony and inner peace/calm have been reported as benefits of repentance: the people and/or families concerned and/or the groups they make up are beginning to behave according to new rules, which is considered an existential paradigm shift, often associated with a more beautiful, calmer and better life. We encounter narrators who are happy with the balance they have achieved; others are struggling to attain a life that pleases God, "cleansed" from deeds and attitudes that are vigorously rejected following conversion. The most frequently mentioned forms of unworthy behaviour are alcohol consumption, extra-marital relationships, partying, and dressing inappropriately.

As a repenter, you no longer go to discos, you no longer neglect your wife, you no longer spend money on other women or on useless things[65].

There are life stories which reveal anguished lifestyles marked by mis understandings, instability and deviations from the right path. Violence is mentioned as the main issue for many couples, heavy drinking in others.

It is common sense, which also applies to your relationship with God: if you love God and know it's bad to get drunk because it makes you behave badly, you stop drinking; if you know that smoking – it is said in the Bible that one should not taint one's flesh and this is what smoking does, you stop smoking; if you know that it's wrong and the Bible forbids you to behave immorally, to have sexual intercourse before marriage, you don't do that...[66]

Vices are injurious not only by virtue of their consequences or the image they project in society, but, most importantly, through the offence committed against God, one female narrator says. Such judgements demonstrate a commitment to interpreting the words of the Scriptures.

It is said in the Bible that if you drink and smoke, you mock the work of God. So we are the work of God, actually. Because God created us in His image, didn't He?[67] Marital unfaithfulness and excessive spending complete this perspective: *It depends on the habits you had in your 'free life'... because this is what it's called in the world*[68].

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[65] Rupi Gabor, male, freelancer, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan in TîrguMureş(Mureş county), July 7, 2015.

[66] Faura Pandelică, female (b. 1978), housemaid in Ireland, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan in Fața Cremenii (Mehedinți county), August 20, 2015.

[67] B.P.

[68] Rupi Gabor.

The shedding of unworthy habits in the light of conversion does not occur immediately. Converts' habit of judging others and the derogatory words used have often been mentioned as obstacles to the shaping of the ideal Christian.

I liked [repentance], *of course. But we sometimes swear, we make mistakes. I can't lie to you and to others that I don't steal* [...] *I sometimes steal some corn for boiling, a tomato, parsley, things that I see.* (So things that you need for cooking) – *Yes, yes. And I can't lie to the One above, He sees me.* (This is why you say that you are not completely repented?) – *Yes. And we sometimes swear and are envious and hostile, that is all. But I have to give these stupid things up and go to the meeting. Because it's better in the meetings*[69].

The converted oscillate between two worlds, marked by the effort involved in transferring the sacred into the profane: in order to be real, *metanoia* needs to become *praxis.* This refers to the "subtle stylistics of behaviour"[70], to the reassessment of the state of affairs prior to epiphany. The world is reinterpreted through the eyes of the spiritually illuminated individual, while the validation of the new life is transposed into rational(ised) behaviour. Interviewees reposition themselves as *repenters* in relation to various unpleasant and difficult situations; these either continue to be borne, with the help of the religious strength they have acquired, or are left behind. The road from [Christian] theory to practice proves difficult.

I should be a patient man! In this world. Because Jesus was patient until the very end. But myself, I admit, I am weak! I'm not like our Lord Jesus Christ, carry my cross like He did[71].

Confronted with many scandals in his family (quarrels, fights generated by heavy drinking), this narrator, baptised as a Pentecostal, decided to separate from his family and bought a house *to be closer to Jesus, to avoid issues and temptations.*

CONCLUSIONS

"Religious organizations, especially neoprotestant ones, such as the Pentecostal and Baptist Churches are visible factors of change in Roma communities. Non-Roms and Roms are aware of this fact and, usually, this influence is welcome by both parties. Nonetheless, it is important to take into consideration the complex changes religious conversion introduces in the life of every individual or community. It is ironic, for instance, that the 'civilization' benefits of neoprotestant affiliation are sometimes praised by the same people who are afraid of the 'demographic danger' brought about by the high number of births in the Roma community"[72].

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[69] Rodica Cimpoieru, female (b. 1952), farmer, interview conducted by Ionela Bogdan in Măguri (Timiş county), August 23, 2015.

[70] Pleşu, 2013: 34.

[71] Gheorghe Spătaru, male, public cleaning company employee, interview conducted by Sînziana Preda in Zalău (Sălaj county), March 1, 2016.

[72] Rughiniş 2008: 5.

Our research has led to similar conclusions. Different settlements with dense Roma population were chosen for the implementation of social, community enhancement project aiming to build schools, nursery schools, canteens, but none of the initiatives has changed the face of the community as much as the conversion to evangelical denominations. The effects are more visible in homogeneous Roma groups and in groups converted a long time ago. There are communities where the evangelical church fulfills more than just the traditional attributes, becoming a place for the free display of ethnicity (e.g. the use of Romani language during religious services). Among Pentecostals, this fact is the most obvious: "Traditionally [Roms] do not have religious institutions either, Roma communities usually belong to the church of the local majority. There is a single exception, that of the Pentecostal Church, whose organizational structure now includes the Roma Ethnic Community, as a means of integrating Roma congregations"[73]. Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant or Muslim Roms do not feel the need to organize themselves in confessional associations. A list of the latter – set up by Roms – show that they pertain exclusively to Evangelical Protestantism: "The Apostolic Union of God's Pentecostal Gatherings" (Braşov, Braşov county); "The Union of Roma Christian Apostolic Associations of Romania" (Săcele – Braşov county); "The Apostolic Union of Roma People" (Baia Mare – Maramureş county); "The Christian Apostolic Association of Roma People from Romania" (Tîrgu Mureş – Mureş); The Pentecostal Church for Roma People of Turda" (Cluj county)[74]; "The 'Bethesda' Christian Religious Association of Gypsies"; "The Religious Association of the International Union of Roma Pentecostal Churches"[75]; "The Christian Center for Roma People of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca)"[76].

It is the new "repenter" identity that incorporates the Roma identity and not the other way around. In the self-sufficient world of the *Gabori* or *Căldărari*, evangelicalism has produced an unparalleled shift: it has created a path towards what we would call uninstitutionalised religion (but with an infinitely greater impact than the teachings of the formal church), *tradition.* Conversion has succeeded where other (political, socio-economic) initiatives have failed: it has challenged the concept of the traditional Roma, and on occasion it has triggered changes of ethos. Otherwise, patterns of "neoprotestantism" prove to be closer to elements of the Roma culture: "Certain religious chants incorporate the tunes of traditional Roma songs, the collective prayer follows the pattern of funeral laments. The low relevance of written materials in Pentecostal rituals is in a fortunate compliance with the oral character of Roma culture and with the high level of illiteracy. The less intellectual nature of Pentecostalism[77], also noted by Herculian, due to the relatively high proportion of chants and prayers in comparison with

[73] Kiss 2010: 15.
[74] Ibidem: 16, 18, 20.
[75] *Asociaţii religioase*, 2016.
[76] *Centrul Creştin al Romilor din Transilvania.*
[77] Bryan Wilson, 1992, cited by Kiss 2009: 137.

sermons and teachings is also in accordance with the low education level of Roms. One can interpret the increased behavioural spontaneity during gatherings in the same key"[78]. The changes are also perceived by the Roma's neighbours, whose assessment grid is chiefly social. The discourse of the converted remains, however, centred on repentance and on the effort to become a "moral person"[79]. To them, the changes that really matter are those that take place in the perspective of repentance and on a personal level. In other words, society may label as they wish, but the assessment that really matters is that made by God. Interviewees always talk about how important it is to become a role model: it is difficult to assess the amount of rhetorics in their narratives, but they surely manage to fashion a positive, prestigious image, which separates them from the crowd of non-repenters, Roms and Gadje.

Migration to evangelical movements has given the Roma a strong religious identity, countering the enduring stereotype: "Do Gypsies have a church?" Interpretations relating to religion and the religiousness of the Roma have always been marked by a lack of trust or, at best, by caution. This is due to the fact that "the religious identity [of Roma] was not seen as a social signifier", which is highlighted by the lack of convergence between the Roma ethos and church dogmas[80]. As certain Roma groups have managed to work out their repentance in their behaviour, both individually and even more at community level – a fact reflected here and there in the improvement of social (inter-ethnic) relationships – assessments made by non-Roma have improved. They highlight the successes of evangelical missionary work in the Roma world, a "complex, but at the same time limited" influence[81]. The involvement of evangelical organisations in the socio-economic and cultural affairs of communities has prompted, up to a certain point, Roma decisions to convert, and has led them to believe that social and religious marginalisation is not irreversible.

On the other hand, conversion, although it conveys the feeling of a crucial turning-point, is not always followed by an effervescent experience. "Generally speaking, Roms are sensitive to God's love. [...] Roms turn easily to God, but they give up on Him just as easily because they lack stability in faith"[82]. "As P. Williams noted for the French Pentecostal Gypsies, with Roma 'Pentecostal [or, for the Gabori, in a wider sense, evangelical] messianism loses its messianic character; it is not important what we expect once we are converted, it is conversion itself which matters. This conversion appears first and foremost as a different way (or as the sentiment of a different way or as the assertion of the sentiment of a different way) of living in the present'"[83].

The essence of transformation lies in the decision to repent, to change in accordance with the will of God, and less in the embracing of an evangelical

[78] Kiss 2009: 137.
[79] Fosztó 2009: 107.
[80] Zăloagă 2015: 161.
[81] Rughiniş 2008: 44.
[82] Ardelean 2016.
[83] Patrick Williams, 1987, cited by Olivera 2012: 322.

confession. Despite the fact that evangelical denominations have their own doctrines, practices and organization forms, in Romania, they are not known and received the same way as in Western Europe and the USA. They have here a different background, a shorter history than in the places where they appeared and developed. Beyond the substance, uniqueness of their dogma, converts are mainly attracted by the idea of dedicating their lives to the Lord Jesus Christ, which to them means the transformation into a better person with a worthy behaviour. Adherence to the doctrine is a secondary matter: in fact, very few of those interviewed claim to know the sources and/or doctrinal principles of the denomination they had adopted. There is a certain level of expectation that converts (regardless of the religions they choose) will be motivated by dissatisfaction with the dogmatic message previously known, and that the neophyte will finally be able to find the answers to his spiritual questions within the new religion. However, this type of reason for conversion is not present in the narratives studied, which proves that repentance is not motivated by theological quests.

Repentance brings about an image gain both on a personal and a community level. Nonetheless, this is not a necessary consequence of the step taken. Not all the converted mention it: either they have no overview of their ethnic group, or they do not believe that repentance and its consequences work – at the level of social and inter-ethnic relations – as a cause-effect relationship. A social representation also entails the contribution of *the other*, whose judgements are often characterised by xenophobic clichés; there are instances in which these influence even the ways the Roma self-identify. When *the other* perceives conversion as a positive thing, *the Gypsies,* usually associated with bad behaviour, with marginality, always embodying something that needs to be avoided, become "'noble and respected' *Roma* who don't drink, don't fight, speak correctly etc"[84].In addition, narrations more often than not define conversion to Evangelicalism through the effort of repentance, through action taken to reduce and eliminate such labels as drunkard, womaniser, bully etc. "Romani believers were careful to suppress almost all kinds of behaviour marked as Gypsy-like" in order to avoid disapproval "whether it was for engaging in bodily pleasure or for being uncultured"[85].

What are the similarities between repented Roma and other repenters? From a social perspective, they undergo a process of separation from people belonging to other religions on the one hand, and of growing closer to their brothers in faith on the other. Repentance restructures ethical and social perspectives. Narrators state that they have decided to adopt sober behavior, in contrast with what they were like before they discovered God. The repenter sees himself as better not only than he was before baptism, but also than the "world", in which he includes non-converted Roma. (László Fosztó mentions PalomaGay y Blasco's studies of the Spanish

[84] Olivera 2012: 320.
[85] Lange 2003:152.

Gypsies, among which members of the evangelical denominations "consider themselves better than those who have not been converted"[86].)

From the viewpoint of experience, the similarity with the stories of repenters from other ethnic groups consists in the belief that, in difficult circumstances, God has turned His attention towards each and every one of them, He has invited them to reflect on their self-consciousness and has assured them of His support if they choose to repent (a change which finds its outward expression in conversion to an evangelical denomination). From this perspective, the narratives reveal a very accessible God, with whom people can talk directly: thus, a unique space is created, into which the interviewer is drawn in and involved in the emotional experience of the narrator. "Their sense of communicating with God and each other is immediate. They resemble the early Pentecostals in America, who characterised their community as one 'body of Christ'"[87]. To sum up, in Evangelicalism the distance between the sacred and the profane is considerably shorter, while the world of the converted becomes progressively more spiritualised, opening the way towards "a direct and intimate connection between the individual's open heart and God. This has proven very popular among the Roma"[88].*

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[86] Fosztó 2009: 168.

[87] Lange 2003: 149.

[88] Fosztó 2010: 61.

* Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from EEA Financial Mechanism 2009-2014 under the project contract no. 14SEE/30.06.2014.

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LE MYTHE, UN CONCEPT OUVERT. UNE LECTURE MYTHOCRITIQUE

GRAŢIELA POPESCU

RÉSUMÉ

La tentation d'une systématique des concepts, dans le domaine sans frontières de l'Imaginaire mythologique, conduit le mythe dans la zone d'une réception critique bien répandue. Dans la faille conceptuelle des domaines d'interférence (l'anthropologie culturelle, les structures mentalitaires, la mythologie), nous n'avons pas préféré les clivages existants, ni obligatoirement les homologies consacrées des certains théoriciens connus des processus mythogénétiques, Claude Lévi-Strauss (*Anthropologie structurale*), Gilbert Durand (*Les Structures anthropologiques de l'Imaginaire*), Mircea Eliade (*Aspects du mythe*), Roland Barthes (*Mythologies*), mais la découverte et l'harmonisation des détails, au sein d'une nouvelle unité de facture structurelle, la mythocritique.

Mots-clé: mythe, archétype, mythographie, mythocritique.

L'esthétique de *l'oeuvre ouverte* se manifeste d'une manière maniériste dans l'art du baroque. L'oeuvre ouverte constitue une hypothèse opératoire. L'ouverture sémantique est un attribut de toute structure formelle avec fonction esthétique.

Le mythe c'est un concept *ouvert*. Sa réception est universelle et variée en même temps[1]. Il faut disposer seulement des codes de lecture dans une sorte de lecture spéciale, initiatique. Gilbert Durand l'appelle «lecture mythocritique».

Dans une réalité impure, éloignée de sacralité, la transcendance nous est offerte camouflée (Mircea Eliade) à travers des mythes dégradés ou des mythes contemporains[2] d'archétypes présents dans le quotidien.

Quant à cette préoccupation des écrivains: la mythopoétique, le mythe étant capturé comme une «méthode» littéraire depuis l'Antiquité, on peut discuter dans un sens infini, le rapport entre mythe et littérature étant perdu dans la faille des

[1] *L'oeuvre ouverte* (Eco 1962).

[2] Une définition des mythes contemporains, dans în *Survivances et camouflages des mythes: Les mythes du monde moderne* (Eliade 1978: 170); l'altérité du mythe sacré-mythe profane, *Le temps sacré et les mythes: Le Sacré et le profane* (Eliade 1995: 61-101).

définitions. Les époques peuvent choisir ou préfigurer leurs mythes dans «l'infini suggestif» de l'univers, écrit Roland Barthes dans *Mythologies*[3].

Le mythe est soumis au jeu des mentalités, à l'esprit du temps. Toute tentative de définir le mythe à fond semble risquée, minée par des récurrences.

Je n'ai pas l'intention de faire une analyse fastidieuse des étapes critiques, du type «bibliographie complète», qui revendiquerait la méticulosité de l'historien. Une histoire de l'exégèse du mythe peut être disqualifiée comme un raisonnement utopique, mais elle serait validée même dans une sociologie de la littérature...

De multiples perspectives sur l'interprétation des mythes sont motivées par cette option non pas pour un texte très informatif, canonisé, mais seulement pour la prise en considération de certaines théories. Après tout, le respect du document, dans un problème d'imaginaire mythique, peut sembler paradoxal.

La sensation du lecteur est celle d'une réception en diachronie, baroque, amalgamée, brisée, impossible à saisir; l'unité dans la diversité: on peut découvrir les mythes partout, et les herméneutiques délimitent «ouvertement», projetant dans un horizon d'attente prolifique et productif. À la limite, un texte sur l'herméneutique des mythes peut être conçu à partir d'un « tissu de citations », comme Derrida aurait dit, d'une manière désdividualisante, où les germes textuels se manifestent conceptuellement, spéculativement.

Cependant, l'opération mythocritique ne se propose pas seulement comme une pratique d'identification des raisons mythiques, mais aussi de leurs articulations dans un système.

Dans une possible archéologie du mythe, en tenant compte de l'impossibilité d'une définition exhaustive[4] (selon l'herméneute Mircea Eliade), mais aussi des définitions axiomatiques des philosophes roumains tels que Lucian Blaga[5],

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[3] Roland Barthes exprime un point de vue sémiotique sur le mythe. La matière du mythe est soumise au changement, en fonction du contexte historique qui la transforme en une fonction signifiante. Cela présuppose que le mythe est «un système sémiologique secondaire», par resemantisation. Le mythe c'est un métalangage qui fonctionne comme «une seconde langue dans laquelle on parle de la première» (Barthes 1957)

[4] Le fameux exégète du mythe, Mircea Eliade considérait le mythe «une histoire sacrée», «le récit d'une création»: «La définition qui me semble la moins imparfaite, parce que la plus large, est la suivante le mythe raconte une histoire sacrée; il relate un événement qui a eu lieu dans le temps primordial, le temps fabuleux des «commencement»... C'est donc toujours le récit d'une «création» on rapporte comment quelque chose a été produit, a commencé à être... En somme, les mythes décrivent les diverses, et parfois dramatiques, irruptions du sacré (ou du «sur-naturel») dans le Monde... Du fait que le mythe relate les *gesta* des Etres Surnaturels et la manifestation de leurs puissances sacrées, il devient le modèle exemplaire de toutes les activités humaines significatives» (Eliade 1978: 5-6).

[5] Le mythe en tant qu'«un acte révélateur métaphorique modelé par les catégories stylistiques sur le plan de l'imaginaire, la création de l'homme à l'horizon du mystère». La mythologie révèle les «catégories abyssales» qui constituent la «matrice stylistique» d'un peuple ou d'un groupe de peuples. Quelle que soit la création culturelle qui soit réductible aux termes de «métaphore» et «style», les mythes peuvent être groupés en «significatifs» (ayant un équivalent logique) et «transsignificatifs» (sans équivalent logique), (Blaga 1996).

Ioan Petru Culianu[6], Romulus Vulcănescu[7], on pourrait restituer au mythe le sens visionnaire d'un phénomène primaire. À cet égard, il y a des similitudes d'appréciations dans l'oeuvre du théoricien italien Giambattista Vico[8], une exégèse qui se rapporte aux mythographies, à représentation littéraire.

Les conceptualisations s'inscrivent dans le *topos* oppositif *logos-mythos*, dans les approches de nature logomorphique et mythomorphique. L'altérité logos/ mythos est aussi théorisée par Jean-Pierre Vernant dans *Mythe et pensée dans la Grèce antique*[9].

Le lexème grec *mythos*, à côté du sens de «récit, conte de fées», implique aussi un sens initiatique oraculaire. Félix Buffière montre que «les mythes et les mystères sont deux moyens complémentaires utilisés par la divinité pour se révéler aux âmes». (*Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*)[10].

En général, on reconnaît au mythe la structure narrative, l'atemporalité et l'universalité. Cette acceptation implique la dérobade des référents importants du mythe: la vérité et le sacré.

Pratiquant une herméneutique de type phénoménologique, Mircea Eliade intègre la notion de hiérophanie dans le mythe: «le mythe raconte une histoire sacrée», relatant un événement *illo tempore*, le temps primordial, fabuleux des commencements[11].

Les analyses formalistes, structuralistes n'incluaient pas cet aspect, y compris le mythe juste à l'intérieur de la structure narrative. Roland Barthes avait interprété le mythe en tant que système sémiologique secondaire[12]: ce qui dans le premier

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[6] Analysant les mythes gnostiques, Ioan Petru Culianu propose une vision intégrée, systèmique: «Toute activité humaine est le résultat d'un bricolage mythique et ses principes eux-mêmes ne sont ni une garantie de la vérité»; il y un «conflit mythique» qui met en action le mécanisme compliqué de la vie humaine de l'inégalité et de la pauvreté jusqu'aux expériences scientifiques à caractère systémique qui «doit accomplir toutes ses potentialités latentes et qui nous choisit de lui devenir des héros ou bien des victimes»; Culianu présente un mythe désacralisé de la *raison naturelle*, qui est l'une des milliards des possibles solutions mythiques: «Dans les récits dualistes, le Démiurge charlatan, antagoniste du Créateur est responsable des tentatives échouées de réorganiser le monde à la suite desquelles la condition humaine et altérée et dégradée pour toujours» (Culianu 1990: 339, 337-341, 33).

[7] «Le mythe en tant qu'élaboré polyvalent, polysémique, polyglossique, se référant à ses éléments expressifs – l'allégorie, la métaphore et le symbole – doit être étudié dans la perspective de trois formes de genèse: la psychogenèse, la sociogenèse et l'ethnogenèse; trois aspects du même processus: *la mitogenèse*. Le mythe est considéré comme une réponse à une question incitante sur la mythogonie de l'univers, des créatures, des choses, des idées, des comportements, etc.» (Vulcănescu 1985: 31).

[8] Giambattista Vico, théorisant le processus de désacralisation du mythe, de sa métamorphose dans une création esthétique, élabore le concept de *mythe-poésie* (*mytho-poésie*), générateur de poésie (Vico 1953).

[9] L'Altérité *mythos-logos* (Vernant 1988: 22).

[10] Buffière 1987.

[11] Eliade 1978: 18.

[12] Barthes, *op. cit.*

système est signe, devient, dans le second, simplement signifiant. Toute «affirmation» est un mythe, tout discours.

L'anthropologue Claude Lévi-Strauss[13], opérant avec des invariants logiques (mythes individuels), des simples «syntagmes» au sein du système (de la mythologie), structure ses quatre volumes de *Mythologiques* basées sur des oppositions binaires: vie/mort, nature/culture, agriculture/guerre, etc.

Appliquant au texte littéraire la lecture instituée par Lévi-Strauss sur les mythes Amérindiennes, Gilbert Durand[14], dans *Figures mythiques et visages de l'oeuvre. De la mythocritique à la mythanalyse*, conditionnait toute mythanalyse de la recherche de «l'inventaire anthropologique» (peintures, sculptures, monuments, idéologies, rituels religieux, moeurs) de cette époque. Levi Strauss avait suivi les mêmes étapes inductives, en intégrant le mythe de la société où il circule, comme dimension de l'imaginaire collectif, puis établissant les isomorphismes.

Utilisant des grilles de lecture structuralistes liées aux méthodes d'analyse de l'anthropologie culturelle, Gilbert Durand opère dans un système de l'imaginaire «empirique» (comme il s'exprimait, op. cit.). Il fait appel à la méthode d'extrapolation mythanalitique d'une seule œuvre à des grands mythes qui hantent une époque (par exemple «les mythes de l'intimité au XIX^{eme} siècle»). Il a établi certains concepts heuristiques: la mythocritique d'où résulte la notion de mythème (la plus petite unité de sens, caractérisée par redondances ou homologies sémantiques) et la mythanalyse qui est une extrapolation de la mythocritique au corpus de toutes les redondances, de tous les cours d'une chaîne mythique conceptualisés en un mythologème[15].

Le problème du chercheur est qu'il ne dispose, pour la plupart, que de mythographies. Une dissociation nécessaire entre mythe original–mythographie opère le Dictionnaire des religions[16] (Eliade/Culianu), reconnaissant à la littérature le rôle de fixation du mythe. On parle de mythes, citant en fait des mythographies (les œuvres littéraires). Le classicisme gréco-latin offre de nombreux exemples dans les chefs-d'œuvre de l'antiquité. On nous est parvenu des mythes à travers l'Iliade et l'Odyssée.

L'altérité mythe sacré–mythe poétique avait été théorisée par Giambattista Vico dans la *Science nouvelle*[17].

Dans la critique mythique-archétypale jungienne, le *numinosum* (latin sacralité) confirme la capacité de l'œuvre littéraire pour récupérer l'universel. Le mythe devient une manière de révéler la divinité, non la réalité, mais un objet de spectacle; il acquiert des significations artistiques.

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[13] Lévi-Strauss 1958.

[14] Durand 1998.

[15] Durand *op. cit.*: 17-36.

[16] On démontre que la littérature «fixe» le mythe, mais elle ne s'identifie pas à la mythologie; encore moins la métamorphose de la littérature en mythologie n'est pas possible (Eliade–Culianu 1990).

[17] Giambattista Vico, *op.cit.*

Gilbert Durand a démontré l'hypothèse de la continuité entre l'imaginaire mythique et le positivisme historique, sans rupture entre les scénarios des mythologies antiques et «les récits culturels», comme il les appelle, à savoir, la littérature, les arts, les idéologies et les histoires. Ce seraient des «réinvestissements mythologiques» selon Mircea Eliade[18] ou des «images archétypales», des «archétypes», selon Jung[19].

Tout comme dans la vision de Mircea Eliade, le mythe et la sacralité sont intimement liés (« le mythe décrivant les explosions dramatiques dans le monde du sacré »[20]) Jung associe la notion d'archétype à *numinosum* (le sacré), développant une critique mythique-archétypale concentrée sur les composants mythiques, rituels ou magiques. Une oeuvre n'est pas archétypale en raison de son intrigue mythique, mais seulement quand elle réveille dans le récepteur le sentiment du divin, de l'autre monde, cette *Imago-Dei*. Dans sa Poétique[21], Aristote signale la transformation du mythe en poésie indiquant une signification esthétique du *mythos*, et non religieuse. Le *mythos* représente la matière, la réalité, le sujet. Le concept de mythe revient aussi dans la caractérisation de la tragédie.

Le texte aristotélicien avait consigné la laïcisation du mythe.

Le mythe devient pour l'esprit contemporain, terrorisé par le rythme trépidant de la vie moderne, «thérapeutique mentale» (Jung), défoulement de l'angoisse, succédané de l'existence équilibrée. La projection obsessionnelle de cette extériorité dérapante traduit le besoin de fétiches. Les influx de «l'infini suggestif de l'univers», comme Barthes aurait dit, les mythes contemporains arrivent à proliférer d'une façon maligne.

Brisés par le contexte d'origine, laïcisés, les mythes du quotidien ont été fétichisés d'une manière rigide et simpliste.

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[18] Tout ce qui n'a pas un modèle exemplaire sera «dépourvu de signification, de réalité... un objet ou un acte ne devient réel que dans la mesure où il imite ou réitère un archétype» (Eliade 1999: 32).

[19] L'archétype comme «une structure fondamentale non représentative, existante dans l'état latent dans l'inconscient collectif» (Jung, *op.cit.*: 403).

[20] «Le mythe décrit les explosions dramatiques dans le monde du sacré» (Eliade 1978: 6).

[21] Aristote 1965: 70.

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Noriko T. Reider, *Seven Demon Stories from Medieval Japan*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016, pp. xi-292 (acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index), ISBN 978-1607324898.

This book, not the first one to fall within the scope of Noriko Reider's preoccupations with the Japanese supernatural, seems to be part of a modular structure revolving around the image of *oni* – often translated as demon, but actually displaying more complex roles in Japanese culture throughout ages. The choice of the topic is motivated by *oni*'s transformative and sometimes positive ability to express the human experience. *Seven Demon Stories from Medieval Japan* goes in perfect tandem with *Japanese Demon Lore* (2010), even though the books can also be read separately as informative studies on the essentially ambiguous nature of *oni*. However, unlike its counterpart, which draws on folkloric, literary and popular culture materials, *Seven Demon Stories from Medieval Japan* brings into attention the genre of *otogizōshi* (Muromachi-period fiction, literally "companion tales") which consists of short stories, often derived from the oral literature and written down from the 14th to the 17th century. The text fuses with illustrations, therefore *otogizōshi* can take a variety of forms, spanning from *emaki* (picture scrolls), *Nara ehon* (illustrated woodblock printed books of a certain size) to woodblock printed books. Japanese scholarship has dedicated many monographs to the study of *otogizōshi*, but there is still little research in English language – to name only one reason why Noriko Reider's book is such a priceless contribution to this field.

As the title suggests, the book expands on seven *otogizōshi*, grouped into four categories, serving as human perspectives on supernatural encounters involving demons. According to the author, *oni* come into being only through human senses, therefore, without humans, they cease to exist. Each part of the book bears the name of the main character who meets the *oni*: Part I: Samurai, Part II: Scholars, Part III: Women, Part IV: It. However, the classification seems a little unbalanced since in the last part *tsukumogami* (the belief in inanimate objects which can receive souls after one hundred years of service and which sometimes might take revenge on the humans who had neglected them) is rather a demonic manifestation than a human-demon encounter. Each of the seven essays included in the book is accompanied by a translation of an *otogizōshi*: the oldest manuscript, *Kibi daijin nittō emaki* (Illustrated Stories of Minister Kibi's Adventures in China) dates back to the end of the 12th century, while the "newest text", *Hanayo no Hime* (Blossom Princess), belongs to the 16th century or early 17th century. By equally mastering both English and Japanese, Noriko Reider has succeeded in offering us excellent

translations of seven medieval manuscripts, by surmounting the difficulties of obsolete Japanese vocabulary or classical grammar and by disambiguating several wordplays such as *taiki*, 大機 (a person of great talent) / 大器 (big containers) as presented in her *tsukumogami* chapter. Some of the essays have already been published in several academic journals such as *Asian Ethnology*, *Japanese Studies*, *Marvels & Tales*, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, but there are also fresh materials, vivid literary comments and comparisons, relevant (black and white) illustrations as well as keen insights which help us refine our view of the medieval Japanese society and its literary canon. The book is of great value to scholars and students of Japanese culture or to anybody interested folklore and comparative analysis. The list of Chinese and Japanese names and terms at the end of the book completes Noriko Reider's academic approach on the Japanese demonic supernatural.

The first part takes a closer look at the warriors dispatched to vanquish the evil-doers impersonated by the *oni*. The first essay brings into focus the most celebrated *oni* legend, Shuten Dōji, the drunken demon, who, after kidnapping, enslaving and eating young maidens, is eventually vanquished by the valiant samurai, Minamoto no Raikō (948-1021). In order to illustrate the military and political paradigm of the medieval Japan, Noriko Reider has chosen to translate and comment upon the oldest extant text of this legend, *Ōeyama ekotoba* (Illustration and Writing of Mt. Ōe), 14th century. In the second essay, the same historical figure, Minamoto no Raikō joins forces with Watanabe no Tsuna (953-1025) to kill the *tsuchigumo*, the earth spider, which assumed the form of a young, beautiful woman, thus marking the beginning of the killer female shape-shifter in the medieval literature. The 14th century manuscript is the oldest extant scroll of *Tsuchigumo zōshi* (A Tale of the Earth Spider) and it represents a parable of the evil (or the other) that must be conquered for the good of society.

The second part discusses the encounters between demons and scholars. The first literary choice is *Kibi daijin nittō emaki* (Illustrated Stories of Minister Kibi's Adventures in China) which presents a fictional story of the historical figure Kibi no Mabiki (695-775), one of the two scholars who has been promoted to the position of minister of right in Japanese history. The image of the demon in this *otogizōshi* is rather benevolent since he helps Kibi no Mabiki to escape from his captivity in China. The forth essay examines the picture scroll of *Haseo zōshi* (A Tale of Lord Haseo), early 14th century, in which Ki no Haseo (845-912) plays *sugoroku*, a Japanese version of backgammon, with a demon, betting for the most beautiful lady in the world. When the *oni* loses, he offers Ki no Haseo a beautiful woman, who, later on, turns out to be made of the parts of dead bodies. Here *oni*'s depiction is close to that of a trickster in a grotesque satire pointing at the sexual enticement of the scholar.

Women play an important role in the third part of the book. They travel to unfamiliar lands to meet their husbands or complete difficult trials to be allowed to see their partners. For instance, *Amewakahiko sōshi* (The Tale of Amewakahiko) introduces the 15th century Japanese version of Cupid and Psyche, centering around

heroine's journey to the sky to meet her husband, the dragon king. Surprisingly enough, her father-in-law is a demon who dwells in the sky. However, the fact that a demon lives in the sky does not puzzle the Japanese medieval audience, demonstrating, once again, the ambivalent character of the Japanese *oni*, as well as the fluid boundaries of the living space of the fantastic creatures. The sixth essay examines a Cinderella type of story, *Hanayo no Hime* (Blossom Princess), based on the a 16th century book print. The first part of the story depicts Blossoms Princess's household where she is persecuted by her stepmother and sisters who send a samurai to kidnap and abandon her in a remote mountain near Mt Fuji while her father was away. The mountain was the dwelling place of a *yamauba* (mountain witch) who will later on become her helper, giving her critical advice and gifts in a manner resembling that of Baba Yaga from the Russian folktale, *Vasilissa the Beautiful*. It is actually the second part of the story that follows the pattern of the Cinderella type of story (ATU 510A), recounting Hanayo no hime's life at the mansion of a *chūnagon* (middle counselor), called Saishō, who falls in love with her and eventually marries her.

The last part deals with the *oni* or, rather with inanimate objects that can become demons, as exemplified by the oldest extant picture scroll of *Tsukumogami ki* (Record of Tools Specters) belonging to the Muromachi period (1336-1573). The author(s) narrate the transformation of objects into vengeful spirits who kidnap humans and animals, but, in fact, their principal motivation is to spread the doctrines of Shingon (esoteric Buddhism) to a variety of audiences. Since the purpose of *otogizōshi* is to both entertain and offer moral edification, in the decentralized Muromachi period the *oni* is used as a kind of political and economic tool to highlight the heroes' prowess or religious efficacy. In order to capture the fluid relationship between the real world and supernatural, Noriko Reider transfers different genres from the oral to written mode (legends, myths, folktales, Noh and Kabuki plays) and resorts to intertextuality and cross-references which harmoniously knit together elements from religion (Buddhism, Shinto and Onmyōdō), ethnology (festivals), art and history. She seems familiar not only with the Japanese scholarship on medieval culture, but also with Roman myths, Chinese stories and Western fairy tales which puts her research into a universal perspective, shedding light on both folklore and Japanese medieval literature.

RALUCA NICOLAE

Mirjam Mencej, *Styrian Witches in European Perspective. Ethnographic Fieldwork*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 454 p., ISBN 978-1-137-37250-5.

Based on field research conducted with student teams in 2000 and 2001 or by the author alone in 2013-2015, this book describes the functioning of witchcraft in a remote rural region of Slovenia, where ancient cultural practices are still active

nowadays. In 55 villages, 170 extensive interviews (semi-structured) were made, involving 237 interlocutors (66,7% women, 33,3% men).

Mirjam Mencej is interested in discussing typologies of witches and witchcraft in a social context, underlining the fact that the low level of education and the poverty of the people in the region under research, as well as the distance from the dynamic cities of Slovenia could explain the structure of the belief system circumscribed by the interviews. However, there's more to add to this explanation: the strong functional oppositions of everyday village life define a universe where witchcraft emerges as a reason for social or personal misfortune. In the small villages investigated by Mencej and her team, the concept of "neighborhood" is essential, because most of the witchcraft accusations are related to neighboring conflicts and interactions. The bewitchment is always counterbalanced by a set of protective measures, described by the author in the fifth chapter of the book (pp. 219-243).

The analysis is also focused on the discourses that surround the phenomenon of witchcraft. In the third chapter, the author identifies four types of discursive patterns in the stories told by the informants: witchcraft discourse, Christian discourse, rational discourse, New-Age discourse. The narrative strategies are multilayered when a conversation turns around witchcraft, because this topic is more sensitive and problematic than any other: the *captatio benevolentiae* and *suspension of disbelief* are always present, as well as defensive precautions (such as "I heard this story from…"; "I don't really believe it, but it may be true…"; "It didn't happen to me, but to one of my neighbors…"). Extensive fragments of the interviews allow the reader to discover all these aspects by himself/herself.

Following a suggestion of Willem de Blécourt, Mencej takes into account "the repertories" of the informants, because the stories told in local communities tend to organize themselves on the basis of motives and formulas (such as "the experience of being carried by witches", with its subtypes: "the victims cannot find their way", "the victims walk in circles", "the victims end up in bushes", "the victims feel like they are trapped", "the victims are transported in another location"). The "individual repertories", very "heterogeneous", should be integrated in a gendered perspective, as the stories told by men differ from those told by women, paying more attention to the question of power (p. 89).

Styrian Witches in European Perspective is full of captivating stories about the evil deeds commonly attributed to witches: the bewitchment of animals, people and crops; the bewitchment by looking, speaking and touching; the bewitchment by performing magic practices, etc. Maybe the most interesting and innovative chapter is the eighth, about the Night Witches (pp. 349-399), a special category, substantially different from "the neighborhood witch" and "the village witch" (both of them "social witches"). The spaces for seeing and encountering this sort of witches are the forest and the wastelands, exterior to *civilized* zones, and the subjects of this kind of experience are often male. The appearance of the Night Witches is multiple (witches in the form of lights, witches as laundresses, fairies,

etc.) and the most frequent form of interaction with normal people is carrying them away (see *supra*). I would add to these points of great interest some pages on the magic books (pp. 334-338: the "Kolomon"), a fundamental topic, unfortunately often neglected by scholars in ethnography.

Styrian Witches is remarkable by the variety of openings and the richness of comparisons. In the *Introduction* of the book, Mencej paints a historical fresco of the witch trials in Styria and in the rest of Slovenia, with an emphasis on the seventeenth century witchcraze (pp. 2-12), trying to question the temporal continuity of magical practices. A wide anthropological network is conveyed in order to better situate the Slovenian phenomena: Mirjam Mencej cites examples from folklore collections, published books and archives covering the entire European cultural area. Romania, Russia, Poland, Hungary, the Baltic and the Nordic countries, Western and Southern Europe furnish a solid and convincing comparative material. In this associative network, the linguistic aspects of the witchcraft practices are very significant for the arguments Mencej develops: the different names of witches all over Europe illustrate both the local specificity and the universality of beliefs in witchcraft.

However, Mencej's book has, in my opinion, a big methodological problem, summarized in a phrase by the author herself, but not treated as such: "Due to the delicate nature of the topic the exact location of the region is not given, the place names have been omitted and personal names replaced with pseudonyms" (p. 20). In this respect, *Styrian Witches*... may be cultural anthropology, as well as pure fiction. Because of a political correctness that has no reason to be in this kind of scientific approach, Mirjam Mencej devalues the qualities I have put forward in the previous paragraphs. How can one verify the exactitude of the information without knowing the precise region of investigation and, for the informants, the real names and social statuses (replaced with abstract codes)? I imagine a researcher who, in twenty years, will be interested in doing a field research on witchcraft in the same region, in order to understand the evolution of beliefs and of discourses on this "delicate" matter. Where to go? In a remote, hilly region of Slovenia, maybe somewhere in Styria. Which villages to chose? How to make the selection of informants? How to find the surviving people that participated in Mencej's field research or their descendants (scholars have often shown the importance of the family in witchcraft stories/histories)? Mencej pushes her delicacy to the absurd, as one may see in the *Conclusion*. Speaking of "a New-Age practitioner from the capital", who has even a website (!), the author specifies in a note: "In order not to disclose her identity, I have refrained from stating the precise type of techniques that she uses" (p. 412). What privacy to protect when this contemporary "witch" is herself a public person, with a website and a large number of clients? Why to refuse a discussion of the "techniques", that could be significant in a scientific argumentation?

I would add also that, as has been shown many times, the informants are not naïve. Some of them know that the people from the universities, from the cities, work on something and they are aware that the results of the research will be published.

Sometimes they are glad to be "interrogated" and to share their knowledge. It happens also that a direct interdiction of revealing the identity of the informant is formulated during the interview: in this case, the researcher is morally constrained not to reveal it. But, when no explicit interdiction is formulated, nothing obliges the researcher to respect a privacy that has not been claimed. Speaking of witchcraft without a direct reference to the territory and the identity of the people involved would be like – in medicine – speaking of an illness without locating and naming it (because it is not politically correct to do so)!

In conclusion, it must be said that, even if Mirjam Mencej's book is rich and interesting, even if the style is accurate, fluent and even if it causes a real pleasure to the reader, a deep dissatisfaction persists after the reading, because the author conceals an essential part of the edifice.

IOAN POP-CURȘEU

Andreea Buzaș, Olga Popa, *Ilie Moise – crochiu de colecție* [Ilie Moise – croquis de collection], Sibiu, ASTRA Museum, 2016, 100 p., ISBN 978-606-733-125-7.

«Ilie Moise – croquis de collection», ouvrage paru récemment chez l'éditeur ASTRA Museum, introduit le lecteur dans une nouvelle série de publications du célèbre Musée ethnographique ASTRA de Sibiu. Sous le titre «Collections et collectionneurs», la série est – comme nous explique dr. Mirela Crețu dans la *Préface* – destinée à mieux faire connaître les collections et les fondateurs de musées. Une démarche judicieuse, orientée simultanément vers le passé et l'avenir, en accord avec le profil d'institution mémorielle qu'est le musée, démarche qu'on peut saluer pour les sujets choisis et son ouverture culturelle.

Ce n'est pas un simple hasard, bien sûr, si la série s'ouvre par un livre qui s'attache à Ilie MOISE en tant que collectionneur et, il faut le souligner, un livre écrit conjointement avec lui. En effet, pendant l'hiver 2014–2015, le Musée ASTRA organisait une exposition portant le même titre que cet ouvrage. Il s'agit d'une exposition, que Olga Popa – organisatrice de la manifestation aux côtés de Adda Popa – juge comme représentative de «*l'homme, le collectionneur* et le plus proche *collaborateur* du Musée ASTRA». Ce n'est pas un simple hasard non plus, si le titre de la série de publications porte l'empreinte d'une intention du musée plus ancienne de présenter, par une succession d'expositions, commencée en 2012, plusieurs collectionneurs avec leurs collections.

Ilie Moise – croquis de collection est un ouvrage de 100 pages avec un format agréable et carré, 21 cm de côté, et qui montre probablement l'aspect spécifique de la future série. L'élégante simplicité de la couverture en carton fin, une finesse adaptée du papier pour les 15 pages d'illustrations en couleur, tout comme pour les autres feuilles avec les nombreuses images en blanc et noir insérées dans le texte, sont les reflets d'une sobriété et d'un bon goût qui confèrent au livre la tonalité discrète d'un album.

Je remarquais plus haut qu'il s'agit d'un livre dont le sujet est Ilie Moise, un ouvrage écrit conjointement avec lui. Il faut le souligner car cela justifie la structure du volume. Une moitié de la partie explicative comporte les textes introductifs rédigés par Andeea Buzaș et Olga Popa (qui ont composé aussi les notes biographiques et bibliographique), auxquels viennent s'ajouter cinq interventions relatives à l'activité de Ilie Moise en tant que collectionneur et excellent connaisseur de l'esthétique de l'art populaire traditionnel. Ces petits textes, pleins de sensibilité, d'émotion et de connaissance, sont signés par ceux qui sont intervenus lors de l'ouverture de l'exposition: prof. dr. Paul Niedermaier, membre correspondent de l'Académie Roumaine, et les chercheurs Ana Grama, Valerie Deleanu, Maria Bozan et dr. Andreea Buzaș.

L'autre moitié de l'ouvrage, élément essentiel dans la composition du livre, est signée par Ilie Moise. «L'histoire de mes choses...» est un «journal» dont le manuscrit a été donné au Musée ASTRA et qui, d'ailleurs, était déjà présent dans l'exposition de 2014. Dans ses lignes, Ilie Moise nous donne, les tirant de l'oubli, des détails précieux sur la naissance de sa passion de collectionneur, dont les prémices sont déjà visibles dans son adolescence passée à Cut, son village natal. Ensuite, à travers un recueil de vingt-quatre petits textes, l'auteur nous dit comment ce désir a grandi, il nous parle des objets rassemblés et, surtout, des gens qu'il a croisés grâce à cette volonté de tirer de l'oubli qui dure encore.

Les chapitres introduisent, tour à tour, les principaux thèmes. Tout d'abord c'est la fascination permanente que le musée a exercé sur le professeur Moise et qu'il nous fait partager en énumérant les étapes essentielles dans le développement de sa collection, dont les points culminants sont l'exposition temporaire organisé au Musée ASTRA, suivi, à la Maison de Cut, par la présentation des pièces au Musée du Village de Bucarest pour une durée illimitée. Les grandes lignes qui ont ordonné l'exposition de 2014 – un «croquis de collection» inspiré et délicat, un peu nostalgique dans son histoire – sont énoncées dans un chapitre séparé, plein de chaleur et de détails significatifs. Les «instruments de travail», toujours présents et si nécessaires pour le lecteur grâce à la classification et à la précision explicative qu'ils apportent, à côté d'une «fiche bio-bibliographique» du collectionneur et une bibliographie des livres, études et articles que Ilie Moise a écrits au sujet du «Musée et ses hommes». Les textes se succèdent rapidement, le changement de ton assure le dynamisme du récit et, par conséquent, le mouvement dans la perspective narrative du discours.

«*L'histoire de mes choses...*» s'étend sur 40 pages. Les sous-titres sont significatifs. Tout d'abord ils offrent au lecteur la classification des objets ainsi que le collectionneur l'a conçue. C'est la place que ces objets occupent dans l'ensemble de la collection d'une part, d'autre part c'est l'impact que le processus de réunion en lui-même a eu sur la mémoire du collectionneur qui imposent ce partage. Ainsi nous apprenons que «Au début étaient les icônes...», parce que, nous dit le prof. Moise, à l'époque où il était lycéen, il a «recueilli des éléments folkloriques et des icônes peintes sur verre»: «À la fin de la dixième classe j'avais lu tout ce qu'on

pouvait lire – à l'époque – sur la peinture paysanne sur verre et je possédais à peu près 20 icônes provenant des principaux centres de la Transylvanie – Nicula, Laz, Schei, Maieri, Făgăraş – et que, cependant, j'avais acquises, toutes, à Cut.» Constituant, selon son propre témoignage, «mon patrimoine spirituel et sentimental», elles ont été suivies «un peu plus tard et – évidemment – à des époques différentes» par des «Meubles et... cruches», «Croix... de main, de murs, de proximité...» ou «de foyer», des «dames-jeannes» et des «quenouilles». Et, surtout, par beaucoup, beaucoup d'objets en céramique, plus anciens ou plus récents, une passion que le professeur gardera intacte tout le temps. Les titres des récits qui composent ce sommaire confirment le spécialiste en ethnologie et révèlent une préférence pour la matière, leur contenu offre, d'une manière tangible, l'image du cadre temporel quand ces «choses», choisies parmi les autres, sont devenues des «pièces» de collection.

Les souvenirs sont le plus souvent souriants et calmes, néanmoins l'ombre de la mélancolie se laisse deviner. Ce sont des narration courtes, des scènes vivantes décrites avec talent, qui parlent moins de choses et bien plus souvent de gens. Surtout on y parle d'amis: il y a des personnalités bien connues du public amateur de culture populaire traditionnelle, comme Horst Klusch ou Mircea Lac; il y a aussi des voisins ou des proches, ou des anciens étudiants du professeur Moise. Parfois, celui-ci nous raconte des événements incontournables pour bien saisir la façon dont il a formé sa collection, telle la renommée Foire des Céramistes de Sibiu.

J'aimerais m'arrêter encore un peu sur les fragments qui évoquent les débuts et les icônes sur verre, car c'est une période dont la description met sans doute en lumière les habiletés de collectionneur et les qualités de narrateur de leur auteur. Il était très jeune à ce moment-là, mais sa passion sensibilisait les gens autour de lui, donc beaucoup de ses proches, parents et amis lui ont fait, tour à tour, des cadeaux. Cette partie du «journal» – composée surtout de successions de noms et d'appellations placées dans un court contexte explicatif – devient expressive et vivante surtout grâce à l'utilisation du langage local dans l'énumération des noms ou des sobriquets. Pour le lecteur qui connait les gens du village de Cut, c'est une bonne source de souvenirs, inépuisable possibilité de les retrouver dans ces mots à sonorité ancienne. C'est pour les habitants de Sibiu l'occasion de se rappeler des figures oubliés ou simplement éloignées depuis longtemps.

Les parties illustrées du livre contribuent elles-aussi au caractère équilibré et documenté de l'ouvrage, les quinze pages avec des photographies en couleur justifiant amplement le contenu de la collection. Je voudrais aussi remarquer la couleur modérée de la couverture et la photographie, elle-même pièce de collection, qui a été d'ailleurs l'élément de fond de l'affiche de l'exposition de 2014: une jeune femme en habit paysan, avec un enfant dans ses bras: le futur collectionneur, à cette époque âgé de quelques mois seulement, et sa mère. Quant aux photos en général, il y en a encore quelques dizaines en blanc et noir, alternant les images des objets avec des scènes où l'homme est le héros.

Dans l'ensemble, les images de ce livre et les histoires qu'on y peut lire sont comme des lueurs qui offrent avec parcimonie l'image d'un monde d'objets se

trouvant en plusieurs lieux. Car, ainsi que l'explique l'introduction de l'ouvrage, elles continuent de décorer les espaces qui composent «*la Maison de Cut*, *le bureau du professeur* à l'Institut de Recherches Socio-Humaines de Sibiu et son domicile de la rue du Cerf». Ce sont des objets qui méritent d'être mieux connus, quel que soit notre âge.

Grâce à sa richesse, le livre répond à cette demande, car il est orienté directement vers les amateurs de la culture populaire traditionnelle, les collectionneurs et les spécialistes. D'autre part, grâce aux scènes vivantes et individuelles présentées dans le «journal», sa palette s'élargit, et le «*Croquis de collection*» proposé par la maison d'édition ASTRA Museum invite simultanément à sa lecture pour l'étude et pour le cœur.

MARIA BOZAN

BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH": FACSIMILE PAPERS (PART III)

EDITORIAL NOTE & INFO

The present section continues the two years ago launched process of publishing some of the papers presented within the 1969 ISFNR Congress.

In the first, larger introduction[1], as well as in the second, much smaller one[2], the numerous historical and professional circumstances connected with the publishing, after 1969, of a selected papers volume were mentioned and explained. The hereby choice for publishing the old manuscripts in facsimile format (together with some photos) was argued too. This is why, without further ado… one could refer to the bulk of texts mentioned here in the footnotes, and, first and foremost, should see the materials already published under the general/section title *Restitutio* in the 2016 and 2017 volumes of this journal:

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA, *Editorial Introduction, Photos, and a Formal Letter*, „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 189-192.

MIRON NICOLESCU, *Message de salut* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 193-195.

KURT RANKE (*no title*, in German), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 196.

MIHAI POP, *La poétique du conte populaire* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 197-213.

KURT RANKE, *Assoziationsphänomene der Volksprosa* (in German), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 214-223.

LAURI HONKO, *On the Principles of Genre Analysis* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 224-232.

ALAN DUNDES, *On the Laws of Folk Narrative* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 233-245.

E.V. POMERANTZEVA, *Les images de la mythologie inferieure dans le conte Russe de moeurs* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 246-253.

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[1] See Marin Marian-Bălaşa, *Editorial Introduction, Photos, and a Formal Letter*, that forworded the same Restitution section in „Revista de etnografie şi folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" 1-2/2016: 189-192.

[2] *Editorial Notes and Infos*, in „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 207-208.

EDITORIAL NOTES & INFOS, „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 207-208.
LINDA DÉGH, *The Interrelationship of Folk Belief, Legend, and Custom in Modern American Folk Tradition* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 209-229.
FREDERIC C. TUBACH, *Propp's Morphology and the Medieval Exemplum: comments on narrative structure* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 230-238.
DAVID E. BYNUM, *Creatures of Mixed Form in Slavic Folktale* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 239-250.
PAUL V. VEHVILAINEN, *The Narremic Structure of Folk Narrative* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 251-254.
ARCHER TAYLOR, *The Study of the Cinderella Cycle* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 255-267.
LUC LACOURCIÈRE, *Les branches orales du* Roman de Renard *dans la tradition canadienne-française* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 268-275.
ROGER LECOTTÉ, *Mythes, contes et légendes du Compagnonnage* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 276-279.
YOM-TOV LEVINSKY, *Les rites nuptiaux entre deux mondes* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 280-285.
CORNELIU BĂRBULESCU, *Quelques constances dans la structure du conte* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2017: 286-294.

Archives of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (FL 1919/8, 1918/23, 1918/27).

American Folk Narratives of the 17th Century

Richard M. Dorson

Did the colonists in North America in the seventeenth century possess a body of folk narratives? Have we any means of finding out if they did? The first American newspaper, the Boston News Letter, did not commence until 1704, and the popular almanac of Nathaniel Ames only began in 1725, so that the vehicles most likely to carry traditional tales and other lore are denied us before the eighteenth century. In any event, how in the space of ninety-three years, if we consider the formal history of the United States as beginning in 1607 with the settlement of Jamestown, could folktales develop? and if they were simply transported by the colonists, could they be called American? Perhaps, like the celebrated essay on snakes in Ireland, our paper can end in one paragraph: "There are none."

Yet in fact the seventeenth century did generate oral traditional stories in the Atlantic seaboard colonies, and they can be detected in a surprisingly copious literature of exploration and settlement. In assembling a selection of early American writings in 1950, under the title America Begins, I was struck by the number of anecdotes clearly in oral circulation repeated by travel writers, chroniclers, diarists, and the promoters and critics of colonization. Popular fictions, on the order of Märchen, novelle, animal tales, and the like I did not find. But in New World categories of storytelling, there is an abundance of marvelous and fabulous tales taken pretty much at face value. This is not to say that all stories of witchcrafts and whirlpools were immediately accepted by American listeners and readers, but rather that they acknowledged the phenomena of the supernatural -- or "preternatural" in their term -- and of the terrifying, and sifted a given report to determine its accuracy. Wild stories were flying about in those hazardous early years in the wilderness; of the four American centuries, none would be so given to oral narration as the seventeenth. Even if these were new stories, they contained traditional elements, derived from the Indians' own stock of narratives, from medieval bestiary lore, and from Reformation accounts of diabolism and witchery. By the end of the seventeenth century, when Cotton Mather produced his great ecclesiastical

history, Magnalia Christi Americana, many New World stories had through frequent repetition and reference become traditional. The Magnalia and other colonial writings became sourcebooks for postcolonial historians and authors who have renewed the memory of the earliest American legends.

~~In place of~~ Since the generic categories of folk narrative, ~~which~~ do not readily fit the present materials, I am grouping them according to subject matter.

I. Indian Tales

In the seventeenth century, white men and red men enjoyed relations on a more equal footing than at any later period in American history. The Indian had not yet been evicted from the settlers' domain, and he was listened to and looked at with astonishment and wonder, dread and disdain. Indian tales may be divided into three quite dissimilar lots: (1) creation and culture-hero myths told by Indians to the colonists who repeated and recorded them in somewhat garbled and broken forms; (2) fantastic accounts from white observers of sorcery by the shamans, or "powaws" as they were then called; (3) and a slew of humorous anecdotes told by the colonists ~~about the red denizens~~ from New England to Georgia about the mishaps of the redskins when they encountered European technology and institutions.

(i) Myths. Men of the eighteenth century rationalized and men of the nineteenth century romanticized Indian tribal narratives, while men of the seventeenth century sought to Christianize them through possible analogies with Scripture. The Christian redactions are a good deal closer to the original forms than the later romantic versions of star-crossed lovers leaping off precipices. Jasper Danckaerts, a Dutch Labadist who visited New York in 1679-80, recorded in his journal a création myth from an eighty-year-old Indian, formerly of Long Island, who drew a picture of a tortoise lying in water. He recounted how the tortoise raised its round back up, the water ran off, and the earth became dry. Placing a straw on end in the middle of the drawing, he explained that a tree grew up in the center of the earth, whose root sent up a sprout, that became the first man. The tree bent over until its top touched the earth, producing another root and another sprout, on which grew the first woman. From them came the rest of the race.[1] In this short

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1 America Begins, 306-7.

version appear such familiar motifs in Indian tales as A625, "World parents," A652, "World tree," A810, "Primeval water," and A815, "Earth from turtle's back."

(ii) Indian Magicians. "The latest story of conjuration is this," wrote Robert Beverley in his History and Present State of Virginia (1705), plainly indicating that such stories were prevalent. He then related how during a dry spell that threatened to spoil the tobacco crop of Colonel William Byrd, the well-known Virginia planter, a friendly Indian offered to produce rain if the overseer of the plantation would give him two bottles of rum. The overseer agreed, the Indian set to powwawing, and the rains came, showering only Colonel Byrd's corn and tobacco and none of his neighbors' fields. Astounded, the overseer rode forty miles to tell his master the news. The colonel did give the rum, but scoffed at the magic.[2] Most of the colonial chroniclers did not scoff at the cures, prophecies, and sorceries of the powaws which they beheld with their own eyes or heard on good authority, but simply ascribed the wonderments to the devil's machinations. John Lawson, historian of North Carolina, had seen Indians perform a number of cures for burns, the pox, 3nd ulcers; he reported the curing of a Maryland planter, suffering from a severe distemper the English doctors could not alleviate, by a friendly savage named Jack. At Jack's bidding, the emaciated planter took to bed with him a great rattlesnake whose poisoned fangs had been removed. Jack wrapped the snake around the planter's middle; the snake gripped the sick man like a belt, but at length grew weaker and died, whereupon the man felt better, and Jack explained that the distemper was dead along with the snake. Cotton Mather had much to say about Indian "priests, powaws, or wizards" who were supposed to have "immediate converse with the gods."[3] He related a case told him by two justices of the peace where in a powaw on Martha's Vineyard through fervent prayer captured in a deerskin a spirit plaguing a badly bewitched woman; the powaw revealed that it was the spirit of an Englishman drowned in the nearby sound, and that, being an English spirit, he could not long confine it, hence the patient must move from Martha's Vineyard for safety. These magical stories pervade the literature.

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[2] Ibid., 289-291.

[3] America Begins, 281.

(iii) Funny Indians. A comic stereotype of the red man emerged soon after the races established contact. If the powaw and his black arts were regarded with suspicion and awe, the ordinary savage, drunk on the white man's liquor, accidentally blowing himself up with the white man's gunpowder, deluded by the white man into thinking that an underground storehouse contained a plague, readily lent himself to ridicule in floating jests. Sometimes these jests employed dialect for humorous effect, as in the tale from The Old Indian Chronicle of 1675-76, telling how Captain Mosely, leading a company of sixty men against three hundred Indians, plucked off his periwig and tucked it inside his breeches, preparatory to fighting. Thereupon the Indians fled crying, "Umn, umh, me no stay, Engismon got two head, if me cut off un head he got noder a put on beder as dis." This motif of the Indian fighter discomfiting his foe by removing part of his body continues into the nineteenth century, when a frontiersman unstraps a cork leg and removes his false teeth before giving battle, to the vast alarm of the red foe.

In these jests the Indian is a bumpkin or a noodle but, as in the case of the Yankee later on, there is another side to the coin, and a crafty underdog red man who turns the tables on his oppressor comes into view by the end of the seventeenth century. Lawson tells of a settler who became bachelor, husband, and widower all in twelve hours; the settler wooed a comely Indian lass, but rose in the morning to find she had absconded with all his treasure, even the shoes she had made for him from dressed buckskin. Collections of such Indian anecdotes were printed in the late colonial and early national periods, and undoubtedly are based on tradition.

II. Natural History and Colonization Tales

Many extravagant stories fastened on to the flora and fauna of the New World. Today, as I write this, man has just landed on the moon, and from our own world-wide thrill of absorption in the lunar discovery we can surmise the expectancy with which the Old World waited for news about the features of the New World. Writers of best-selling travel books, folio size, with handsome full page illustrations, gratified this interest with

a genre that Percy G. Adams calls the "travel lie" and James R. Masterson "travelers' tales of natural history." Mendacity does not appear ~~to be~~ to be an ingredient of these tales, ~~but rather~~ so much as a natural tendency to color already remarkable facts. Embellishment took two directions; the wonderful, expounding the allures of the earthly paradise, and the terrible, emphasizing its dangers. The natural history tale thus stressed either the richness of the soil, the plenteousness of game, and the virtues of plants, ~~on the positive side,~~ and the harshness of the climate, the deadliness of serpents, and the viciousness of the savages, ~~on the other~~. After colonies were planted, these tales became associated with the controversy over the worth of colonization, ~~as a worthwhile enterprise~~. Should Crown and merchants-adventurers risk lives and capital in what might be a foolhardy and profitless experiment? The promoters of colony-building sang the praises of the new land, and the critics spread scandalous reports of its rigors. Each side pressed into service stories illustrative of its point of view. Pro-Americanists told of a flock of turtle-doves so numerous in New England, New York, and Virginia that they darkened the sun for several hours and broke boughs on which they lighted (John Clayton, who reported this event in a letter to the Royal Society in 1688, commented, "I am not fond of such stories, and had suppressed the relating of it but that I have heard the same from very many")[4]; of oysters in Massachusetts as broad as a bushel, or even a ship's cabin; of a poplar tree so large that a lusty man, who later became eminent in America, lived inside it with his bed and household furniture, ~~during his sojourn to eminence in the country~~. Detractors spoke of the starving time in Virginia when ~~they talked~~ one colonist ~~to~~ killed his wife, hid her body, and fed daily upon it; they talked of mermen and seaserpents sighted on the New England coast, and a horrid whirlpool in the Mississippi River that swallowed up everything that came near it, even the river itself. So destructive were these rumors that spokesmen for the colony-planting companies had to issue refutations. Christopher Levett, who voyaged to New England in 1623-24, rebutted the charge, "They say the country is good for nothing but to starve so many people as come in it." He set down a incident of a Londoner named Chapman who did starve to death,

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4 America Begins, 94.

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but only because in part he spent all his money on wine, tobacco, and whores, and at sea sold his clothes for tobacco, until finally he became servant of one of his own servants. His new master offered him a biscuit cake a day if he worked, and half a biscuit if he did not; he chose the latter course, and starved. "Where was the fault now, in the man, or in the country?"[5] Here is a classic story of the lazy man (Wlll, "Laziness"). Levett admits he had this story at second-hand, from one of Chapman's companions.

III Providential Tales

One species of oral relation that enjoyed special popularity among Puritan settlers may be called the providential tale. The terms used by the Puritans were "remarkable" or "illustrious providences, or wonderful workings", by which they referred to events out of the ordinary, small or great, affecting their lives individually and collectively. In God's plan for his elect, all strange phenomena must be closely scrutinized to discern what signals and messages they conveyed to the saints. Not a sparrow fell to the earth without God's providential will. The Puritans had sailed for the New World the better to follow God's ordinances on their road to salvation. They kept scrupulous tabs on their own and each others' conduct, in diaries, journals, sermons, and histories filled with providences. Then on 12 May 1681, the ministers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in general meeting, under the leadership of Increase Mather, minister of the First Church of Boston, drew up "Some Proposals concerning the Recording of Illustrious Providences." A similar project had been contemplated twenty-six years earlier by ministers in England and Ireland, resulting in a manuscript that fell into Mather's hands and moved him to undertake a similar mission in America. The Proposals stated that "Such Divine judgements, tempests, floods, earthquakes, thunders as are unusual, strange apparitions, or whatever else shall happen that is prodigious, witchcrafts, diabolical possessions, remarkable judgements upon noted sinners, eminent deliverances, and answers of prayer, are to be reckoned among illustrious providences."[6]

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5 America Begins, 115.

6 Increase Mather, Remarkable Providences Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonisation, with Introductory Preface by George Offor (London, 1856), [1684], from the Preface, unpaged.

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Diligently the ministers set to work, and in 1684 Increase Mather published in Boston the results of their and his efforts as An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences: Wherein an Account is given of many Remarkable and very Memorable Events, which have hapned this last Age, Especially in New-England. In effect the best minds and most industrious talents in the New England colonies collected well attested legends. Here was an early Irish Folklore Commission! Would that the Federal or state governments of the United States would sponsor a similar undertaking today. Mather's purpose was theological and historical, to do glory to God and to preserve a record of notable happenings for posterity. ~~His product is, or should be, of intense interest to folklorists~~. The Essay contains several kinds of folklore materials. There are the actual texts, often in great detail, of the providences. To them Mather frequently adds parallel instances, from fairly contemporary English sources, such as Joseph Glanvil's Collection of Modern Relations, and from the ancients; in discussing wolf possession he cites Ovid, Pausanias, and Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. In addition he comments on these cases analytically and philosophically, considering such questions as the tenuous distinctions between "natural diseases and satanical possessions," and between bewitched and possessed persons. We are thus able to see the attitudes of a leading intellectual of the early colonial period toward supernaturalism. If to us the Puritans swallowed every old wives' tale, in their own minds they examined the evidence with meticulous care. After presenting documented examples of New England witchcraft, Mather declared that "Superstitious and magical ways of trying witches have been a bloody cause of those murders."[7] He believes that witches exist, and refutes the argument that ~~not they but~~ evil spirits, not they, are ~~not~~ responsible for their maleficence; but he draws the line at "fables" concerning incubi and succubae, and "men begotten by daemons," and the "extreamly fabulous" illusion that witches can transform themselves or others into animals.[8]

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7 Ibid., 127.

8 Ibid., 124-125.

Possibly the devil has so imposed upon the imaginations of witches that they have really believed themselves transformed. Mather concedes too that witches will confess to actions they have never committed, but he stands his ground that "Some mad men are really possessed, notwithstanding many fabulous stories about witchcrafts,"[9] and lists six signs of possession in an "energumenical" person.

So the remarkable providences are not cooked-up yarns, but thoroughly screened and attested reports of preternatural occurrences. They are themselves obviously the result of many oral repetitions that have rendered them memorable. From our viewpoint I would divide them into five folkloric categories: (1) Demons and Witches, (2) Apparitions, (3) Judgments, (4) Deliverances and Preservations, (5) Remarkables in Nature. This last section covers such matters as monstrous births (e.g. a child turned to stone within the womb),[10] tempests, earthquakes, floods, and lightning, all interpreted providentially. The Essay is filled with all kinds of folklore themes, in disapproval as much as in approval. Mather deals with speaking animals and images, witches who stick pins in wax images, cacodaemons (evil spirits) that plague homes, and apparitions of the unhappy dead with undiscovered sins, such as the "woman clothed with a green safeguard, a short blue cloak, and a white cap", who in 1682 threatened to strike Mary Hortado of Salmon Falls, Massachusetts with a firebrand.[11] ~~American folklore can point to no more~~ The most explicit accounts of poltergeists in American folklore are ~~them~~ in Mather's Essay.

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We may conclude by saying that the American seventeenth century ~~can be viewed as~~ offers a treasure-house of folk-narratives, once we distinguish between Old World and New Worl forms of storytelling.

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9 Ibid., 119.

10 Ibid., p. 128.

11 Ibid., 116-118.

A Preliminary Report on an Index of the Folktale in Mexico

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During the past two years I have been engaged in the transcription and annotation of a sizeable body of traditional folktales that I have recorded at various points throughout Mexico. This folktale material contains a wide variety of types that are obviously of European origin, in addition to others that do not appear in the standard indexes nor in published collections of texts. These narratives are solid proof of the continuing vigor of the folktale in Mexico and the adjacent Spanish-speaking population of the United States to the north and Central America to the south.[1]

The preparation of the comparative notes for the individual tales has presented several problems. In the first place, there exists no standard index of Mexican material that the scholar can consult in order to determine the affiliation of the tale that he has recorded, its internal composition of character and incident, and its frequency and geographical distribution. Secondly, narrative texts from the general Mexican area that I have mentioned have been published from time to time, but with three or four exceptions they are not concentrated in extensive collections but are widely dispersed throughout monographic or periodical publications from Mexico, the United States, and Europe. In order to prepare notes that will be useful to other scholars, I have found it necessary to examine a considerable number of these folktale collections in order not to overlook significant parallels from Mexican sources.

Hispanic scholars have long made use of the pioneer classification prepared

by Ralph S. Boggs on the basis of tales from the Iberian Peninsula. I refer here to his Index of Spanish Folktales.[2] Terrence L. Hansen has provided an index of published tales from Hispanic areas of South America and the West Indies.[3] Both these works have been extremely useful in the classification of my Mexican narratives. For folktales that are current in Mexico, however, no such index is available to scholars and the references to parallel Mexican versions that accompany my texts have been sought out directly from published or manuscript texts without the aid of a cataloguing device. Thus the need for a tale type index of these narratives is obvious. Mexico is the only major Hispanic area for which no such index at present exists and folktale research with Mexican material cannot really proceed until one is available.

For this reason, I have undertaken the preparation of an index of the types of the folktale in Mexico, including also material from the Hispanic areas of the southwest United States and the countries of Central America, in order to complete the coverage of geographical sections not included in present indexes. In classification, I employ as a guide the standard work of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, in its most recent revision.[4]

The preparation of texts suitable for scholarly analysis dates from the last decade of the nineteenth century. The late Charles Carroll Marden, a North American philologist, published in 1896 four short animal tales that he had collected in the Valley of Mexico.[5] There was a lull until the second decade of the present century, when folktale collecting began in earnest, under the direction of men who gave the principal impulse to folktale activity in Mexico for the next thirty years or more: Konrad Theodor Preuss,[6] J. Alden Mason,[7] Franz Boas,[8] and Paul Radin.[9] Their interest was primarily

in the cultures of the native groups of Mexico, but the bulk of the tales that they noted were of European affiliation. Much the same can be said concerning the first Mexican scholars, who became interested in the tale shortly after the Mexican Revolution, men such as Manuel Gamio[10] and Pablo González Casanova.[11] In New Mexico, folktale scholarship has been in the hands of Hispanic natives of the region, particularly Aurelio M. Espinosa,[12] José Manuel Espinosa,[13] and Juan B. Rael.[14] Despite the obvious presence of the narrative there, folktale collections from Central America are extremely few and these unfortunately tend to display strong literary overtones. To date I have been able to examine tale collections only from Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama. Small collections exist from the other countries and I shall make every effort to include them in my index.

To date I have examined approximately one hundred titles which contain roughly one thousand five hundred folktales, according to my estimate. The majority of the texts are in Spanish or a Mexican indigenous language, as they were originally narrated by the informants. A few, however, are available only in English translation, particularly those tales that have been gathered by North Americans from Spanish-speaking informants in the United States. I have supplemented these one thousand five hundred texts with over two hundred more that I have either recorded personally or which were recorded by advanced students directly under my supervision. Thus the index will be based upon what I consider an adequate number of texts.

My principal concern has been to include narratives that can be divided into two well-defined groups. First, are those that were brought to Mexico by colonists from Spain during the colonial era and clearly are tales of European provenience. Their presence in the standard European tale indexes supports

their inclusion in this category. The other group, whose members are somewhat more difficult to identify, is composed of narratives that are the product of a creole tradition in America, although their ultimate roots are certainly European. Since approximately 1920 (as an outgrowth of the Mexican Revolution), certain folklorists, among them Mexicans and North Americans, have been striving to identify in oral tradition those narratives that may be of indigenous origin. Their success has been much more apparent in the realm of the myth and the legend, less so in the case of the folktale. Following the conquest in the sixteenth century, the spread of Hispanic culture throughout Mexico was extremely rapid. There is evidence that the European folktale participated in this swift spread and soon penetrated the repertories of indigenous groups. After four hundred fifty years of co-existence of the European with the native cultures, it has become practically impossible to identify clearly any tales that might have been narrated before the arrival of the Spanish. Consequently I have made no attempt to adhere to any such distinction in my index nor have I included narratives that bear only slight resemblance to those of clear European affiliation.

The remarks that follow I must consider of a preliminary nature, although I doubt that they will be modified greatly by subsequent additions to the index. Animal tales appear with considerable frequency, particularly in the earlier collections, although there is not really a wide variety of tale types. A frequent pattern is the initiation of the narrative with A-T 175, which is followed immediately by types 8, 34, 49A, 74, and 1530, although not necessarily in that order. The rabbit is the trickster and his most frequent victim is the Canis latrans, the small variety of wolf known in western America as the coyote. Types 100, 101, and 155 also enjoy wide currency.

The tales of magic, however, are by far the most significant and at the

same time the most numerous group. Standard European folktales are well represented in the Mexican repertory and the following tales have each been reported at least ten times: A-T 300, 301 (including sub-varieties), 302, 313, 314, 330, 332, 400, 402, 425, 432, 471, 480, 510 (the latter two forms being combined frequently), 531, 560, 612, 613, 676 (often combined with type 1535), 706, 707, 709, 785, 851, 882, 910B, 950, and 1004. At least one hundred fifty other types of tales of magic are present in lesser numbers, in addition to various types not yet reported elsewhere. The members of the latter group will be listed only after I have established that they occur in multiples and are not isolated, random narratives.

Mexican narrators display certain preferences of plot, some of which are present elsewhere. Type 330 The Smith Outwits the Devil, instead of being narrated singly, frequently serves as the culminating episode of a series of types involving a trickster and explains the latter's successful entry into Heaven. In Mexico the murder of the youngest brother in type 780 is nearly always revealed by a magic flower that sprouts from his grave. It speaks when plucked and placed in the mouth of its finder and blown. Other features are undoubtedly the result of the Mexican cultural environment. In type 510, for example, Cinderella does not necessarily go to a ball to meet her prince. Rather, she may meet him at a bullfight. One narrative in this category recurs with uniformity of actors and episode in New Mexico as well as Mexico itself. A humble youth wins the hand of a princess. From the palace where they live, he spies a prosperous hacienda and connives with his wife and her father to win it for himself. He dresses in torn clothing, then goes to work on the hacienda, making a wager with its owner that the king and queen will bring him his food at mid-day. The youth is to give his life if he loses and is to gain the hacienda if he wins the wager. The king and queen appear as they have promised and he wins the hacienda. I have noted no similar narrative in Hispanic or other indexes of the

folktale. The plot is self-contained and the narrative could very well stand alone, yet to my knowledge Mexican narrators use it exclusively in combination with a standard folktale. It customarily is the final episode in a narrative that begins with 910B The Servant's Good Counsels, which is followed by type 300 The Dragon Slayer, then the hacienda wager.

Another peculiarly Mexican narrative has derived from A-T 860 Nuts of "Ay, ay, ay!" in which a priest assigns a youth the task of bringing a bag containing hay 'there are some' and no hay 'there are none.' The boy removes the thorns from one side of a prickly pear leaf but leaves them on the other. When the priest thrusts his hand into the bag, his fingers strike the thorns and he exclaims in pain "Ay!" The youth then explains: "On the other side no hay." On the other side there are no thorns. The Mexican versions lack the European framework of the princess being offered in marriage to the man who will perform successfully the contradictory tasks and thus in Mexico, at least, they do not properly belong in the category of Romantic Tales, where type 860 is listed in Aarne-Thompson.

Certain tale types are handled by Mexican narrators within the framework of the legend rather than the folktale. The most conspicuous of these is A-T 326 The Youth Who Wanted to Learn What Fear Is. From episode II e, in which the hero spends the night in a haunted house where a dead man's members fall down the chimney, the narrative develops into a legend in which the dead man reveals the location of buried treasure and instructs the hero to keep the remainder after paying certain debts that the deceased contracted while living. Types 1558 Welcome to the Clothes and 1645 The Treasure at Home are attributed to residents of certain Mexican villages, the former involving belief in the devil and the latter the widespread concern with buried treasure.

The principal cycle of human trickster tales revolves around Pedro de

Urdemales, a figure widely known in Spanish America under a variety of names but rarely reported in Spain. Narrators ordinarily link tales involving a stupid ogre with jests. Types 1013, 1537, 1653, and 1004 figure prominently here. Numskull tales abound and are attributed to residents of certain towns and villages. The principal of these is Lagos de Moreno in the Mexican state of Jalisco. Two cycles of numskull tales have been only inadequately explored, those involving the yucatecos from the Peninsula of Yucatan, and Don Cacahuate, 'Mr. Peanut,' the subject of widely-told versions in northern Mexico and the southwest United States. The latter often concern contrasts between Hispanic culture and neighboring Anglo-American attitudes. It seems highly likely that the index will include among jests and anecdotes a fair number of new types not yet listed in other indexes. These, for the most part, show evidence of being the product of a creole or a mestizo culture. Serious folklorists, however, have not devoted to them the attention that they merit.

These are the characteristics of the Mexican folktale in somewhat general terms as determined by a preliminary examination of available texts. The index, when completed, will provide a much sharper focus upon the composition of the Mexican and Central American repertory. Much of the work of consulting narrative collections has been completed. In fact, I can think of only two works of moderate extent that remain to be examined. The remainder are short articles and notes that involve not more than one or two tales in each, although tracking them down can be time consuming.

Certainly the completion of the index is a goal in itself but my hope is that it will facilitate and stimulate further research and comparative study that involves the narrative in various areas. A country that has a folktale tradition as rich as that of Mexico deserves a careful interpretive study of the genre and this ultimate goal can hardly be reached without the preliminary requisite of a usable research tool.

Notes

1. The first volume of these folktale texts has been completed and will appear in the Folklore Studies series of the University of California Press.

2. Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 90. (Helsinki, 1930).

3. The Types of the Folktale in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Spanish South America. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957).

4. Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 184. (2d Revision; Helsinki, 1961).

5. "Some Mexican Versions of the Brer Rabbit Stories," Modern Language Notes [Baltimore], XI (1896), 43-46.

6. Die Nayarit Expedition. (Leipzig, 1912).

7. "Four Mexican-Spanish Fairy-Tales from Azqueltán, Jalisco," Journal of American Folklore, XXV (1912), 191-198; also J. Alden Mason and Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Folktales of the Tepecanos," ibid., XXVII (1914), 148-210.

8. "Notes on Mexican Folklore," ibid., XXV (1912), 204-260.

9. Paul Radin and Aurelio M. Espinosa, El folklore de Oaxaca (New York, 1917).

10. La población del valle de Teotihuacán (Mexico, 1922), II, 300-326.

11. Cuentos indígenas (Mexico, 1946; 2d ed., 1965).

12. "New Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore. III. Folk-Tales," Journal of American Folklore, XXIV (1911), 397-444; "New Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore. VII. More Folk-Tales," ibid., XXVII (1914), 119-147.

13. Spanish Folk-Tales from New Mexico. Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, Vol. XXX. (New York, 1937).

14. Cuentos españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico (2 vols.; Stanford University, Calif., 1957).

E.M.MELETINSKY

PROBLEME DE LA MORPHOLOGIE HISTORIQUE DU CONTE POPULAIRE

Les partisans des méthodes " Synchronique " et " Diachronique " opposaient strictement pendant longtemps leurs methodes . Cependant , à présent on peut noter un certain rapprochement de ces methodes et même leur coordination dans le but d'une plus complète description de divers formes poétiques . C'est surtout le cas dans l'étude de la morphologie des contes . Même une opposition superficielle des descriptions selon la même méthode synchronique des contes russes , par V.P.Propp, à celles des contes indiens de l'Amérique du Nord , par A.Dandes , permet de se rendre compte de l'utilité des comparaisons de divers moments synchroniques de ces contes pour élucider leur évolution morphologique et pour étudier la génèse de la formation de quelques structures morphologiques . D'autre part , une compréhension profonde des voies de la différenciation historique des genres et des sujets variés facilite le choix adéquate des descriptions synchroniques.

En effet , il n'y a pas de véritables distinctions structurales entre un conte et un mythe coexistant dans le cadre de la même époque historique et culturelles (Lévi-Stross , Greimas , Dandes , les époux Maranda et encore d'autres folkloristes morphologues l'admettent maintenant pratiquement) . Pourtant , des distinctions structurales nettes existent sans aucun doute entre le conte primitif (syncrétique) et le conte de fées classique , séparés par une évolution historique , autrement dit , d'une manière diachronique . Il est difficile de révéler dans le folklore primitif des distinctions entre le mythe et le conte . Les aborigènes eux-mêmes y distinguent deux catégories fondementales sui-

vant la présence ou l'absence dans ces derniers du caractère sacré mentels ou véridique (hvecho et hého chez les dahoméens , lynyl et pynyl chez les tchouktches, adaox et malekk chez les indiens, tsimshian) .Cette distinction peut être démontrée d'une manière plus exacte par une série d'oppositions: sacré/profane ; strictement véridique / non strictement véridique ; fatum universel ou collectif / destin personnel ou familial ; époque préhistorique / temps indéfini ; étiologie substancielle / étiologie ornamentale . L'avant dernière de ces oppositions est souvent exprimée au début et la dernière vers la fin du conte .

Ces distinctions ne sont que très légèrement reflétées dans la structure du sujet . Les mythes et les contes primitifs sont empreints d'un rythme unique de pertes et de gains résultant des actions des héros . Leurs hauts faits et les agissements des tricsters , en guise d'animaux , correspondent à ceux des dieux et demi-dieux mythologiques .

Le conte primitif est syncrétique puisqu'il comprend les germes encore indifférenciés des contes de fées , des contes d'animaux ou anecdotiques et des éléments de mythes .

L'étude de l'évolution antérieure du conte syncrétique présente de sérieuses difficultés vue qu'elle se déroulait à la fois en deux directions : le passage du syncrétisme à la différenciation des genres était accompagé de changements de structure . Ces changements portaient pour cette raison en partie le caractère d'une précision croissante et de raffinement . C'est justement ce point de l'évolution en question qui exige surtout beaucoup de finesse dans l'application conjuguée des méthodes synchronique et diachronique .

Le conte de fées classique est entièrement séparé du mythe, les conceptions mythologiques de l'univers y sont transformées en forme de conte dans lequel les personnes et les objets agissent

dans une certaine mesure au lieu des héros, en leur procurants les valeurs perdues du conte , retablissant la justice etc.Il est aussi très important de noter que l'élément fantastique des contes de fées classiques est déjà séparé des croyances de la tribue (les liens avec les superstitions y sont conservés dans les légendes populaires) et portent un caractère poétique . Ainsi les exploits des héros ne sont plus réglés par des formules magiques et rituelles ou par les normes sociales usuelles , mais par des principes beaucoup plus abstraits , sociaux ou moraux , ainsi que par des modèles de conduite qui ressemblaient dans une certaine mesure à des " règles de jeux " insolites . Il semble que Lévi-Strauss n'a pas assez tenu compte de ce moment, en accusant V.Propp de formalisme ; il a aussi sousestimé les différences qualificatives entre un mythe primitif et un conte de fées développé . C'est , en effet , seulement par suite de l'omission des détails ethnographiques concrets que l'accent a pu être porté sciemment sur la fiction des contes. Elle est souvent exprimée au commencement en soulignant les temps et le lieu indéfinis de l'action (contrairement à ceux des contes primitifs et des mythes) , tandis que vers la fin on laisse entrevoir que les contes ne sont que des contes et donc pas véridiques , en utilisant pour cela la catégorie de l'impossible (comparez au final étiologique des contes primitifs) .

La structure et la fonction des " formules " dans le conte de fées développés sont à présent l'objet des investigations remarquables du folkloriste roumain bien connu , Mihai Pop , et du jeune savant roumain M. Rochiani . Par comparaison au conte primitif , le thème de la famille joue un rôle spécial et très important dans les conte de fées classique : en réalité , c'est le conflit social qui emprunte ici cette forme familiale, en subissant , comme noté déjà par A.N.Vesselovsky , une idéalisation de

celui qui souffre de l'injustice sociale comme c'est typique pour les contes de fées.(La sociologie familiale est le sujet spécial de ma monographie " Le héros des contes de fées " , Moscou , I958) . Les motifs familiaux et sociaux encadrent souvent le noyau plus archaïque (mythologique)du sujet des contes de fées . Ces caractères de leur forme classique étaient les conditions nécessaires au mûrissement de leur structure .

Par rapport à leurs sujets respectifs , les contes-mythes primitifs , comparés au contes de fées classiques développés, représentaient , on dirait , une ~~structure~~ meta-structure insolite . Les sujets des contes de fées classiques révélaient des limitations structurales inflexibles inconnues au folklore primitif . C'est la raison pourquoi nous ne pouvons partager entièrement la suggestion de A.J.Greimas qui voudrait appliquer aussi au mythe le modèle modifié du conte classique de V.J.Propp (Communication 8 , Paris , I966) .

Dans les contes-mythes primitifs tous les échelons syntagmatiques sont assez isolés et s'équivalent du point de vue structural . L'action peut commencer aussi bien par une perte que par une acquisition . ~~Le plus~~ souvent la narration se termine par l'acquisition , mais , en principe , elle peut se terminer aussi par une perte . Les divers épisodes ne se suivent pas selon une certaine hiérarchie . Les objets magiques recherchés et disputés par les héros y figurent , comme règle , comme des valeurs absolues , n'étant pas envisagés exclusivement comme moyens de s'en procurer d'autres . Dans le conte classique , par contre , les divers échelons séparés font partie d'une entière structure hierarchique où les épreuves se succèdent chacune aboutissant à la suivante , chaque objet magique n'y étant que le moyen de s'en procurer d'autres .

Dans la majorité des cas , l'action commence par un malheur (par une perte , par la misère) et se termine obligatoirement par la délivrance de ce malheur et par le gain . Le mariage avec une princesse et l'acquisition, par-dessus le marché, de la moitié du royaume, et la fin heureuse typique de ces contes . Le mariage fabuleux est le dernier échelon de la chaîne syntagmatique du sujet, l'élément le plus important de la sémantique et le plus haut degré de l'hiérarchie axiologique ; du point de vue logique, c'est le moyen de médiation et de réconcilliation des contradictions . Dans les contes primitifs le mariage , comme démontré par C.Lévi-Strauss était le moyen de communication , de l'échange des valeurs , [illegible] tandis que dans le conte des fées il remplissait une toute autre fonction : il permettait de surmonter les conflits qui avaient lieu à un niveau social inférieur (surtout dans une famille) par l'avènement du héros à un rang social plus élevé . Le mariage y est la valeur principale, alors que les objets magiques de genres variés ne sont que les instruments du succès final. Ainsi les épreuves de base amènent au mariage, alors que dans le conte primitif la recherche des objets magiques (cosmiques) ou rituels , l'acquisition d'esprit-gardiens (précurseurs des protecteurs des contes de fées) , les épreuves du type d'initiation occupaient une place prépondérante , le mariage n'y jouant qu'un rôle secondaire . Le passage du conte archaïque et mythologique au conte de fées classique était accompagné de rearrangements axiologiques et syntagmatiques . On parle dans les contes-mythes de recherches d'eau vive ou d'élexirs magiques , d'un miel sacré , de pommes de jeunesse etc Les relations familiales ou amoureuses n'y sont généralement que le moyen d'arriver au but de ces recherches . Les mythes-contes scandinaves (d'après Snorri Sturlusson) nous en fournissent des exemples remarquables : un héros entre en relations amoureuses

avec la gardienne du miel sacré pour le lui ravir ; Tor prétend être la fiancée du géant Trym pour lui reprendre son marteau le géant Tiazzi enlève Idun pour s'approprier les pommes de jeunesse ... On peut rencontrer maintenant les mêmes sujets dans le folklore des peuples primitifs . Dans les contes de fées classiques les thèmes des recherches d'objets magiques , de la plume de l'oiseau de feu ou de l'eau vive, étaient sans doute liés génétiquement aux récits mythologiques de l'obtention des objets de culture , mais, en fait, ils menaient inévitablement au mariage . Ainsi , le héros doit ravir l'eau vive sans heurter une corde et sans toucher à sa gardienne , la charmante princesse "Tzar-Dévitza ". Séduit par la beauté de cette jeune fille , il heurte la corde fatidique attirant ainsi la poursuite ... Ce n'est pas grâce à ses relations amoureuses avec la gardienne de l'eau vive qu'il s'en procure , mais malgré ces dernières ; cependant, le fait même de s'en procurer sert de prélude au mariage . Les contes, parlant de la lutte contre des serpents (les dragons) menaient aussi inévitablement au mariage , tandis que dans les contes primitifs du même genre il s'agissait dans ce cas de l'épuration de la terre des monstres chtoniques et du retour des âmes ancestrales enlevées . Figurant au premier plan des contes de fées, le thème du mariage avait déformé dans une certaine mesure les sujets traditionnels . Ainsi même dans le conte russe " Morozko " la malheureuse jeune fille maltraitée par sa marâtre, quoique comblée de cadeaux par " Morozko ", est cependant envoyée dans la forêt pour s'y marier ... " Baba-Yaga " la méchante sorcière des contes russes, veut attirer des jeunes gens par ses filles-fiancées . Le vieux sujet de mythes et de contes de la femme ~~miraculeuse~~ surnaturelle continue de figurer au repertoire des contes de fées classiques grâce aux changements qui lui étaient apportés , laissant tomber des détails

et en transformant le thème des puvoirs économiques de l'épouse totémique en recherche de la fiancée disparue qui revient quand le héros subit l'épreuve principale . Contrairement à beaucoup de contes, celui-ci commence par une acquisition, ce qui devient possible seulement du fait que c'est en réalité l'acquisition d'un protecteur puisque la fiancée miraculeuse tient elle-même ce rôle aidant le héros lorsqu'il est soumis à son épreuve . Les exemples cités démontrent que les sujets archaïques traditionnels subissaient l'influence de la nouvelle et moins souple structure Il est aussi extrêmement caractéristique pour les contes de fées que l'épreuve principale du héros se termine par l'acquisition d'un protecteur ou d'un moyen magique assurant son succès . La découverte de cet échelon, très important, du sujet de conte appartient à V.Propp . L'opposition de l'épreuve principale à l'épreuve préliminaire est aussi très typique pour les contes de fées dans lesquels elle joue le rôle d'un genre de canvas du sujet (on ne la rencontre pas dans les contes-mythes primitifs) . Ce rôle est d'ailleurs double : d'une part c'est l'opposition des résultats ,- l'acquisition des objets magiques , l'aboutissement des recherches , la liquidation de manque; d'autre part ,- c'est l'opposition du caractère même de ces épreuves : vérification de la justesse de la conduite du héros ,- son exploit principal .

On peut aussi révéler dans le conte de fées classique un paradoxe insolite : l'exploit principal y est réalisé avec l'aide de moyens qui agissent au lieu du héros . Ainsi, l'exploit n'est pas le fruit de son courage de la tension de toutes ses forces , comme c'est le cas dans les poèmes épiques, mais le résultat des actions préalables , de la liquidation du manque et des malheurs de l'acquisition des objets recherchés , de la possession des

des moyens assurant le succès qui n'exigent plus l'emploie de forces surhumaines ou d'exercices rituels austères comme c'est le cas aussi dans les initiations primitives qui se trouvent , il se peut , en relations génétiques avec cet échelon du conte . Le héros doit uniquement faire preuve de bonté, de politesse , de son intelligence et de ses connaissances des règles de conduite ,représentant un système sémantique défini, indépendant du déroulement syntagmatique du sujet . C'est la conduite selon ces règles qui définit la structure des actions de tous les personnages du conte ; toutefois , c'est seulement le héros qui les suit obligatoirement d'une manière idéale , tandis que le faux héros doit les enfreindre, aussi obligatoirement . Le principe de la réponse toujours affirmative , stimulant donc l'action , à n'importe quelle provocation, définit la structure de tous les actes . Chaque ~~question~~ interrogation doit recevoir une réponse , même si cette dernière est nuisible à celui qui répond . Chaque ~~ordre~~ injonction , chaque prescription ou recommendation doit être exécutée; la provocation au combat doit être acceptée ainsi que l'invitation de prendre part à une compétition pour obtenir une fiancée ou à la ~~recherche~~ quête d'objets ~~rares ou curieux~~ majiques . Par contre , chaque interdiction doit être violée, stimulant ainsi également une action . En cas de choix , le héros est tenu de préférer le pire en apparence , le moins attrayant etc. (une cassette en cuivre , un poulain bossu , une fiancée laide ...) .

La paire de fonctions " ~~prescription~~ injonction / ~~exécution~~ acceptation " (ou les variantes de celle-ci " ~~provocation / accord , appel / offre de service~~ ....) se rapporte comme le positif au negatif à la paire " ~~. déception / soumission~~ " . Au niveau d'information orales et non des actes matériels , les mêmes rapports existent entre les paires de fonctions ~~interrogation/réponse , enquête/~~ ...

..... $\frac{\text{déception}}{\text{soumission}} = \frac{\text{injonction}}{\text{acceptation}}$

..... $\frac{\text{enquête}}{\text{renseignement}} = \frac{\text{Interrogation}}{\text{reponse}}$

..... $\frac{\text{injonction / acceptation}}{\text{déception / soumission}} = \frac{\text{interrogatuion/reponse}}{\text{enquête / renseignemen}}$

..... "Interrogation / reponse " et " enquête / renseignement " sont les termes employés par V.J.Propp . " Interdiction " peut être envisagée comme forme négative de la ~~prescription~~ injonction (interdiction = prescription) Mais la violation de l'interdiction correspond essenciellement à l'exécution (l'acceptation) et doit donc être interprétée comme élément positif .

" Interdiction /violqtion = ~~prescription~~ injonction / acceptation ".

Le choix " modeste " occupe une place spéciale dans ce système sémantique . Le héros accepte toutes les prescriptions et viole toutes les interdictions ; c'est donc le deuxième échelon qui est obligatoirement positif dans son action . Le faux héros , par contre , refuse de suivre les prescriptions (d'accepter la demande, la provocation , les conseils), sa réaction est négative . Ainsi il subit la défaite , il est vaincu au moment de l'épreuve principale au niveau de l'exploit héroïque et ne peut accomplir la tâche qui lui était imposée . Les règles de conduite mentionées sont spécialement liées à l'épreuve préliminaire , mais elles subsistent jusqu'à la fin du conte comme normes de conduite, étant de ce point de vue indépendantes du déroulement syntagmatique du sujet . (V.J.Propp restreint ses investigations aux fonctions exclusivement syntagmatiques) .

En plus des épreuves préliminaire et principale , il y a souvent , mais pas toujours, encore des épreuves supplémentaires destinées à identifier le héros et à prouver que c'est bien lui qui accomplit l'exploit héroïque et non ses adversaires-

- imposteurs (les frères ainés, les belles soeurs , les compagnon etc.) et qu'il a donc bien mérité, comme recompense, le droit de se marier avec la princesse (ou avec le prince) . Cette identification supplémentaire du héros ne se rencontre que très rarement dans le folklore primitif , étant surtout typique pour les contes de fées développés comprenant des conflits familiaux . Quand ces derniers font partie du conte , les épreuves principales et supplémentaires peuvent quelquefois coincider . En présence de tous les trois échelons , l'épreuve supplémentaire dépend de la principale comme cette dernière dépend à son tour de la préliminaire, de sorte que le conte dans son ensemble représente alors une structure de composition hiérarchique à trois échelons se distinguant ainsi du folklore épique archaïque . Bien entendu , des répititions et des triplements systématiques peuvent être aussi révélés dans le cadre de cette structure , mais cela ne change rien à l'essentiel du problème .

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OBSERVATIONS SUR LE STYLE D'UN NARRATEUR VALAQUE

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Rien ne peut s'opposer à la recherche stylistique de l'oeuvre folklorique, quoique le caractère collectif, l'existence d'un grand nombre des variantes semble contrevenir au caractère individuel du style souligné par ceux qui le définit "le Style ... le systeme linguistique individuel d'une oeuvre (ou groupe d'oeuvres)" (Wellek, Warren, 238). Le texte folklorique soumis à l'analyse stylistique doit être considéré, ~~et il est precisément,~~ comme une oeuvre littéraire complètement finie apartenant à un individu interprète créateur, dont la nature, la personalité peut être distingué, comme dans la littérature cultivée, dans son oeuvre.

Dans l'acte de la création l'auteur populaire est strictement censuré par la tradition, par le modèle, par les éléments préfabriqués imposés, ce qui n'exclut pas l'innovation, l'improvisation.
Le dosage, la proportion de ces deux éléments constitue un aspect relevant du style du créateur. Le style se définit par rapport avec la langue .... "c'est un arrangement méthodique dans l'oeuvre de tous les éléments fournis par la langue" (Spitzer); "c'est l'attitude qu'on prend, soit par écrit, soit oralement concernant le matériel fourni par la langue " (Marouzeau)-des definitions applicables et sur le style de la poésie ou de la prose folklorique, en tenant compte que le matériel de la construction est aussi la langue.
La difficulté survient en cas d'intervention des notions de la norme et de l'écart (cf. P. Valery) et on compte comme appartenant au style "ce qui n'est pas courent, normal, conforme au standard usuel" (Cohen)

Pour la littérature cultivée la norme sera représentée par la

langue littéraire dont la langue de la littérature proprement dite se différencie par la nouveauté, c'est - à - dire l'écart c'est donc le style. "L'artiste littéraire en usant correctement les éléments de la langue les enrichira avec des nouvelles valeurs et significations". (Vianu)

Mais le style d'une oeuvre folklorique par rapport ~~au~~ à quel l'aspect de la langue sera- t - il défini ? Le chercheur rapportera- - t - il la langue d'une poésie ou d'un conte populaire aux normes de la langue littéraire ou prendra-t-il comme système d'appreciation la langue d'interprète créateur ? C'est une question difficile, sans aucune réponse précise. Supposons ainsi que dans le cas de la littérature cultivée il existe une couche intermédiaire entre la langue parlée et la langue de belles lettres - la langue littéraire -, et dans le cas de la littérature orale il peut exister une couche intermédiaire entre la langue parlée, habituelle et la langue d'oeuvre artistique. C'est seulement une hypothèse, quoique l'on puisse observer, sans aucune difficulté, la différence entre la modalité de parler habituellement, quotidiene et la modalité de parler des gens dans certaines occasions particulièrement - par ex. quand on parle à un étranger, ou dans des occasions solennelles. On peut constater la tendence du créateur de parler "correctement" - autrement pas comme d'habitude.

Considérons que c'est plus utile de rapporter la langue d'une création populaire au langage respectif, que la langue littéraire- ou seulement à la langue littéraire - dans ce cas là on peut tirer de fausses conclusions, par ex. : la présence du régionalisme dans une oeuvre littéraire cultivée peut constituer un fait de style, pendant que dans une création populaire le régionalisme reste simplement un fait de langue.

Nous nous sommes référés jusque'ici seulement à la langue d'oeuvre littéraire, en réalité à un seul aspect du style dans celui-ci étant impliqués "des éléments totalmenté étrangers à l'objet de la stylistique (linguistique - n.n.) comme: la sensibilité d'auteur, qui

lui fournit une certaine vision du monde, le stimule de traiter les différents sujets plus que les autres, d'adopter une certaine composition ". (Cressot) Observation entièrement juste et nous la vérifierons au cours de l'analyse que nous ferons sur "L'oeuvre" du conteur Iancu Duroi de Muscel-Muntenia, créateur populaire à une forte personalité reflétée dans l'originalité des ses contes.

Quelques données biographiques sur la personne du conteur sont nécessaires, ces éléments extrinsèques à l'oeuvre peuvent contribuer, souvent décisivement, à l'explication de son oeuvre. Nous soulignons que les dates sont fournis par "L'antologie de prose populaire épique" éditée par Ovidiu Birlea qui nous renseigne: "Iancu Duroi né le 21 mars 1892 est originaire du Bughea de Sus - Muscel; sa profession - travailleur en pierre. Il a beaucoup voyagé, il a effectué son stage militaire a Bucharest, il a été prisonnier en Allemagne pendant la première guerre mondiale. Il fait toujours allusion à cette expérience de sa vie. Il a été emprisonné dix ans, pour le brigandage; il dit : j'ai commencé un lourd travail, le plus lourd, à la pierre, à n'emporte quel travail". Son grand répertoire contient 27 contes fantastiques (apud O. Birlea).

Nous avons limité l'analyse à dix contes que nous considérons des oeuvres littéraires autonomes, aptes à une analyse stylistique.

En observant la préférence du conteur pour les longs contes, à thèmes fantastiques, il faut souligner une aigue tendance de nouvelliser ou en tout cas de concrétiser le fantastique, l'extraordinaire, de le convertir en images et notions familières au conteur et sourtout à l'auditoire, le désir d'être explicite et par cella de gagner l'adhésion de ceux qui l'écoutent. Le conte est avant tout une narration destinée à être ecouté; il suppose donc une solide liaison entre l'émetteur et le récepteur, liaison que notre conteur réalise par sa tendance de concrétiser et rapporter son conte aux choses très connus, aux éléments de son immédiate réalité ou aux événementes de sa vie. Le héros d'un conte arrive une fois dans une grotte..." à perte de vue, de la pierre, seulement de la pierre, comme chez nous, en Rou-

manie, a Dimbovicioara il y a une grotte, partout de la pierre, seulement de la pierre " (I, 162) ou " la vieille va au marché pour acheter des légumes... il conte et puis il précise - comme j'envoie la mienne aussi et elle apporte quelque fromage comme on prépare à présent, elle achète de 5 lei ... on dit qu'elle a fait le marché " (I, 554). Ces deux réalités : a) la réalité du conte, de la narration et b) la réalité concrète ne se confondent jamais, elles existent parallèlement et dans la conscience du narrateur et dans celle des auditeurs. La réalité concrète, quotidienne c'est un plan possible de référence pour la réalité du conte. "Une fille naît d'une pierre - comme la mienne, belle" précise le narrateur-et autrefois "... un matin Dieu et St. Pierre ont passé - pas vous" - continua-t-il en indiquant un auditeur nommé Pierre. Il faut retenir que ceux qui l'écutent depuis longtemps ont observé eux-mêmes cette nuance de concrétiser sur laquelle compte le conteur. L'une des femmes présentes lui reproche: "eh, bien, toi introduis toujours Floarea et Kiva (c'est à dire l'épouse et la fille adoptive du narrateur ") (cf. O. Bîrlea Nota 1, 562).

Les localisations, les adaptations, les références aux éléments connus par tous, appartenant au milieu villageois, à la collectivité, les références aux éléments de la réalité immédiate c'est une preuve de la spontanéité associative du conteur, ainsi que l'évocation des quelques moments biographiques sont les moyens par lesquels le narrateur réalise l'un des traits essentiels de son style - la tendance de concrétiser.

L'analyse de la langue de Iancu Duroi dévoile à son tour des aspects intéressants. Toutes les particularités phonétiques du parler de Muntenia ainsi que quelques uns des traits de la langue locale sont présents dans le langage de l'informateur, mais ils n'ont aucune conséquence par rapport au style, tant que nous parlons de la prose.

Sous le rapport morphologique c'est difficile à saisir ce que l'on y trouve comme particularité régionale de ce qui appartient à la langue

locale ou au langage individuel. Il faut retenir une observation : la présence du mode conditionnel dans les courtes formules introductives utilisées par le narrateur. " Il aurait été un vieux homme " (I, 159) "Ils auraient battu la souris ... " (II, 138) " Il aurait été un fois " (II, 149) qui nous dévoile l'attitude du narrateur sous le rapport de ses narations, c'est une preuve de sa lucidite, de son scepticisme; c'est une preuve de sa defiance dans tout ce qu'il raconte. Le conditionel présent apparaît fréquemment au moment où l'on rapporte la narration aux éléments concrets de la realité immédiate ce qui prouve de même l'incertitude. "Il avait quelconques parents, comme il serait en Ardeal "(I, 160)" comment il serait a Dîmbovicioara " (I. 161); notre observation antérieure est bien soutenue stylistiquement parlant, c'est à dire que les deux plans ne sont jamais confondus.

L'analyse de la syntaxe et du lexique dans les récits du conteur Iancu Duroi offre plus de faits qui nous esquissent le profil de celui-ci, son individualité créatrice. Ainsi par exemple on reprend le sujet à la fin de la proposition, particularité qui lui est propre, et aussi on exprime doublement le sujet - pronom au debut de la proposition et nom à la fin de celle-ci. "Quand il claqua avec son dos la porte, il la detruisit, la porte, l'ours". (I, 174); " il lui a conseillé, à la fille le dragon ". (I, 168); "elle faisait un bouquet des fleurs, la fille" (II, 16); il se transforme en loup, l'empereur, son père"(II, 149). On constate encore qu'on exprime doublement l'objet: "elle se met à lui préparer des mets délicats, à lui". (II, 198); "c'était son tour, de à lui celui-là, le petit, le dixième " (II, 203).

Les deux particularités nous autorisent d'affirmer comme un corollaire de la tendance de concrétiser, et celle-ci de clarté, de précision.

Les propositions elliptiques extrêmement nombreuses dans l'exposé du narrateur donnent à son style de la vivacité et du tempo. C'est sourtout le verbe qui manque, les expressions elliptiques ayant le caractère des constatations d'évidence: "Maintenant il se trouvent autour d'eux 33 dragons. A la ronde, tous, a côté des enfants. Chacun dans son langage".

"Il cherche de l'eau pour boire" (I, 164); "lui très pauvre" (II, 14) Les expressions de ce type imprimen au récit un colorit a part, lui donne une nette plasticité, par la sensation de participation affective du conteur à ceux qui se passe, c'est comme s'il relatait des faits vus par lui même. La tendance de concrétiser et de préciser est corrélée par un autre procedé du style : la présence des propositions intercalées, explicatives assez amples comme ici: "Eh, bien, voyez vous, quand l'ours a mis le dos, car ils etaient fermés dans un trou là-bas, le dragon avait mis une meule de moulin pour les bien fermés, il l'a jetté au loin". (I, 547) ; "Jusque là chantez vous les vallons - moi à cheval sur vous ". (I, 558)

Il y a d'autres cas, même plus nombreux, quand les propositions intercalées explicatives on le rôle de concrétiser, de localiser - nous en avons déjà parlé.

Dans le plan sintactique il faut relever la présence d'interrogation réthorique soit en fonction de mentenir eveillée l'attention des auditeurs, en créant une espece de "suspens", un état detension, de dramatisme. "Un fils de roi, bien vêtu, va demander en mariage. Mais qui est - il ? - Le diable." (II, 405) ; "C'est que tu vois maintenant ? " (I, 160) ; "Qui est allé de la prendre ? " (II, 455) ; "Que voyez vous, monsieur ? " (I, 555), soit ayant le role d'introduire des nouveaux personages ou des nouveaux épisodes, ce que n'exclut pas de la fonction dramatique indiquée antérieurement - "Quel metier avait ce vèillard ? " ; "Que raconte le fils de sa soeur ? " (I, 161) "Que dit le chef , quin était plus grande " (I, 163)

Le narrateur réalise l'effet dramatique en utilisant le langage direct, sans être précedé d'un verbe discendi ou declarandi, ce que dinamise le récit, le transforme dans une pièce de théâtre où le narrateur joue a tour le rôle des personages "il s'enfonce dans le monde des contes et il vive le destin des personages ". (III, 339) Par ex. ! " - Oui, avec le plus grand plaisir - l'emperreur et l'impéra-

incomprehensible !

trice ". (II, 405); "Je n'ai pas la force de le tuer - la fille " (I, 168) ; " Le renard : - Maître, et moi je vais de même " . (I, 188) ; "Le peuple : - oui ... oui " (I, 561) . Parfois le conteur donne des indications de mettre en scène : " Il a tombé aux genoux : - Père ..." (II, 191) ; " Hélas, mon mari, chaque jour je plains - au crachat sur les yeux ". (II, 198) . L'absence des verbes discendi est plus relevante d'autant plus que des autres narrateurs, comme une particularité de leur style, abusent de ces verbes: "Regarde-toi, il dit, au garçon, il dit, introduit ta maine, il dit, dans mon oreille gauche, il dit,et tire la selle, il dit, et tire le bride, il dit ...." (II, 174, inf. Condrat Vasile, Vişeu)

Sous l'aspect lexical les contes collectionés par Iancu Duroi prouvent encore leur originalité; il utilisant avec aplomb des néologismes, dont la masive présence est de même un argument pour soutenir le caractère innovateur, la tendance de briser les modèles. Il faut remarquer que, si la pronunciation est souvent erronée (par rapport à la langue littéraire) (semantique ils sont exactement utilises, leur sens étant clairment pour le conteur. Nous citons quelques uns des néologismes: "să distreazâ, pericul, a oferat, forgoane, telegramă, benoc (binoclu), deranj, dispărură, a refuzat, cordioane (acordeoane), (h)otel, vapoare, identic, misiune etc, etc." L'abondance des néologismes lans l'oeuvre de ce conteur est expliquée certainement par son expérience de la vie. L'armée et la guerre, le tribunal et la prisonne ont profondément influencé son vocabulaire. Des termes militaires:"la guerre est déclarée"; chaque se retire à son unité" (II, 138); "il va rapport"; "s'instruit"; "on fait un groupe de l'armée" etc. De même des termes, des expressions de justice:"l'honborée assemblée"; "je vous garantie pour lui"; "il faut être présent à l'heure...". Nous étonné aussi l'appellation" dom'le" (monsieur - m'sieu) et d'autres expressions sousurbaines: "la fille était gentille et belle" ; "elle s'amouracha de lui" etc.

Sous l'aspect de la composition on remarque la structure stable des contes, relevable surtout dans les variantes paralleles.

Une particularité tout propre est l'alternance des plans de la narration.

L'exposition est accompagnée ~~par des~~ de commentaires qui mettent en evidence une certaine conception ~~sur~~ des faits racontés, une certaine attitude par rapport à eux (généralement il ~~se~~ doute de la vérité du conte, quoique il cherche contrairement à convaincre les ~~écoutants~~ auditeurs). C'est aussi intéressant qu'il s'occupe de la psychologie des personages, généralement ignorée dans les contes.

La tendance de concrétiser, d'actualiser, le fait qu'il exprime des conceptions et des attitudes propres, ses amples commentaires qui accompagnent le récit, la tendance ~~de~~ à s'exprimer précisement, avec sûreté, manifestée dans les procedés syntactiques utilisés, un certain caractère dramatique, la présence masive des néologismes - voici quelques traits du style des contes d'Iancu Duroi.
Le conteur reste, ~~sous l'aspect~~ sur le plan de la composition dans le ~~plan~~ cadre traditionel, mais sur le plan de l'expression il est innovateur et modernise son récit par ses commentaires.

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Published by the Romanian Academy, this journal was founded in 1956 – reason why it still bears in its title the original, Romanian name, followed by its English version. Yet, since 2007 it has become fully international, publishing academic articles in international languages only.

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ISSN 0034–8198